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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right-Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς αἰί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K X.

THERE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *Level-lers*; who spoke insolently and confidently against the King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the Army; and professed as great malice against all the Lords, as against the King; and declared “that all degrees of Men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in Titles and Estates, throughout the Kingdoms.” Whether the raising this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell*’s ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those Tares which had been sowed in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last (which must be set down hereafter) but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some Soldiers upon the Guard usually made, the Guard upon the King’s Person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of People who came to see the King; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any Violence that might be attempted upon his life; which they seemed to apprehend, and detest. In the

B O O K
X.

The Levellers
grew up in
the Army.

B O O K mean time, they neither hindered his Majesty from
X. riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any
thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who
waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chap-
lains from performing their Functions; though to-
wards all these there was less civility exercised than
had been; and the Guards which waited nearest,
were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable
hours than they had been accustomed to do; the
Captain who commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*,
being a Man of a rough and brutal temper, who had
offered great violence to his Nature, when he appear-
ed to exercise any civility and good manners. The
King, every day, received little Billets, or Letters,
secretly conveyed to him without any Name, which
advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and
some of them advised him to make an Escape, and
repair secretly into the City, where he should be safe;
some Letters directing him to such an Alderman's
House; all which his Majesty looked upon as artifice
to lead him into some straits, from whence he should
not easily extricate himself; and yet many who
repaired to him, brought the same advice from Men
of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever
they were swayed.

The King found himself in great perplexity, from
what he discerned, and observed himself, as well as
what he heard from others; but what use to make of
the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did
really believe that their Malice was at the height, and
that they did design his Murder, but knew not which
was a probable way to prevent it. The making an

escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover Courage for such an adventure; and the Army now was much more Master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass, but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Resolution, or Counsel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his Chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared “the reason of his remove to be, “an apprehension that some desperate Persons had a “design to Assassinate him; and therefore he had “withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining “concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon “such Propositions as should be fit for him to consent “to; and he would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that should be for the Peace and

B O O K

X.

The King
escapes from
Hampton.
Court. Nov. 11.

B O O K
X.

“Happiness of the Kingdom.” There were discovered the treading of Horses at a Back-door of the Garden into which his Majesty had a Passage out of his Chamber, and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horse to be there ready at an hour, and Sir *John Berkeley*, *Ashburnham*, and *Legg*. to wait upon him, the two last being of his Bed-Chamber. *Ashburnham* alone seemed to know what they were to do, the other two having received only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehension of the Guards, and the Horse-Quarters, they rode towards the South-West, and towards that part of *Hampshire* which led to the New-Forest. The King asked *Ashburnham*, where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the King resolved to Transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the Sea, and *Ashburnham* had been some time absent, he returned without any news of the Ships; with which the King seemed troubled. Upon this disappointment, the King thought it best, for avoiding all High-ways, to go to *Tichfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*’s (who was not there) but inhabited by the old Lady his Mother with a small Family, which made the retreat the more convenient; there his Majesty alighted, and would speak with the Lady; to whom he made no scruple of Communicating himself, well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honor, and Spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three Servants, what he should next do, since there was neither Ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

He comes to
Tichfield in
Hampshire.

In this debate, the Isle of *Wight* came to be mentioned (as they say) by *Ashburnham*, as a place where his Majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governor there, an Officer of the Army, and of nearest trust with *Cromwell*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter of *John Hambden*, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this Man was thought a Person of Honor and Generosity enough to trust the King's Person to, and *Ashburnham*, and *Berkeley*, were sent to him with Orders, "first to be sure that the Man would
 " faithfully promise not to deliver his Majesty up
 " though the Parliament or Army should require
 " him, but to give him his Liberty to shift for himself,
 " if he were not able to defend him; and except he
 " would make that promise, they should not let him
 " know where his Majesty was, but should return
 " presently to him." With this Commission they two crossed the Water to the Isle of *Wight*, the King in the mean time reposing himself at *Tichfield*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*; who was known to them both, who had Conversation with him in the Army, when the King was well treated there (and their Persons had been very civilly treated by most of the Officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for Court-Preferments) They told him, "that the King was withdrawn from the Army;" of which he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. They then said, "that the King had so good an opinion of him, knowing
 " him to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr.

The King
sends *Ashburnham*
and
Berkeley to
Col. *Hammond* in the
Isle of *Wight*.

BOOK
X.

“ *Hammond* (whose Nephew he was) that he would
 “ trust his Person with him , and would from thence
 “ write to the Parliament, if he would promise that if
 “ his Message had not that effect which he hoped it
 “ would have, he would leave him to himself to go
 “ whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him
 “ to the Parliament, or Army, if they should require
 “ it.” His Answer was, “ that he would pay all the
 “ Duty and Service to his Majesty that was in his
 “ power; and, if he pleased to come thither, he would
 “ receive and entertain him as well as he could; but
 “ that he was an Inferior Officer, and must obey his
 “ Superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to com-
 “ mand him:” with which when he saw they were
 not satisfied, he asked, “ where the King was?” to
 which they made no other Answer, “ but that they
 “ would acquaint his Majesty with his Answer, and,
 “ if he were satisfied with it, they would return to
 “ him again. He demanded that Mr. *Ashburnham*
 “ would stay with him, and that the other might go
 “ to the King; which Mr. *Ashburnham* refused to do.”

After some time spent in debate, in which he made
 many expressions of his desire to do any Service to
 his Majesty, they were contented that he should go
 with them; and *Ashburnham* said, “ he would con-
 “ duct him to the place where the King was;” and so,
 he Commanding three or four Servants or Soldiers
 to wait on him, they went together to *Tichfield*; and,
 the other staying below, *Ashburnham* went up to the
 King’s Chamber. When he had acquainted him with
 all that had passed, and that *Hammond* was in the
 House, his Majesty broke out in a passionate exclam-

They bring
Hammond
 to the King.

mation, and said, “O *Jack*, thou hast undone me!” with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down, and to kill *Hammond*; to which his Majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing, and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been proposed; to which he made the same Answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the Offices he could for his Majesty; and seemed to believe that the Army would do well for him. The King believed that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having the Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of *Wight*, and was Lodged at *Carisbrook-Castle*, at first with all demonstration of Respect and Duty.

Hammond
removes the
King to Ca-
risbrook-
Castle.

It never appeared afterwards that the King was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his Majesty himself never entertained the least Jealousy, or Suspicion of it; yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a Ship, if the Resolution were fixed for Embarking, which was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of *Wight*, and of *Hammond* to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to *Tichfield*, without the permission of the King, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most Men did believe there was Treason in the contrivance, or that his Majesty intrusted those who were grossly imposed

The Author's
opinion of
this whole
business.

B O O K
X. upon and deceived by his greatest Enemies. *Legg* had had so general a Reputation of Integrity, and Fidelity to his Master, that he never fell under the least Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the Orders he received, but no contriver of them, and though he had in truth a better Judgment and Understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him to contrive bold Counsels. *Berkely* was less known among those Persons of Honor and Quality who had followed the King, being in a very private Station before the War, and his Post in it being in the farthest Corner of the Kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of Disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this Enterprize of the King's was so totally without his privy, that he was required to attend on Horse-back at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his Majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did him much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Ashburnham* should remain with him whilst the other went to the King, which *Ashburnham* refused to do, *Berkely* did offer himself to remain with him whilst *Ashburnham* should attend his Majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon *Ashburnham*; who was known to have so great an

Interest in the Affections of his Majesty, and so great an influence upon his Counsels and Resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

The not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the King into *Hammond's* hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that *Ashburnham* resolved that the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton-Court*; and the Lord *Langdale* often said, "that being in Mr. *Ashburnham's* Chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that lay upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be best for the King to withdraw from the Army; where he was in such danger; and that the Isle of *Wight* would be a good retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a very honest Man." And this was some days before his Majesty removed. And then it was observed, that *Hammond* himself left the Army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Isle of *Wight* at a Season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the Army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because *Ashburnham* was not afterwards called in Question for being instrumental in the King's going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the Officers of the Army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the Murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy

BOOK rate, and lived at ease, and grew rich, for many years
X. together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserved his Reputation and Credit with the most eminent of the King's Party; and his remaining in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom he had a great Fortune, and many conveniencies; which would have been seized by his leaving the Kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the King with considerable Sums of Money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*, where he remained till his Death; and the King was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his Affection, and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second returned, most of those of greatest Reputation, as the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good Testimony; yet then, the old discourses were revived, and Major *Huntington* did affirm, "that Mr. *Asburnham* did intend the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton-Court*." Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the Army, and put himself into *Hammond's* hands; for if in truth Transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a Ship would not have been provided.

Sir *John Berkeley*, who, shortly after the King's being in the Isle of *Wight*, had Transported himself into *France*, and remained still with the Duke of *York* to

the time of King *Charles* the Second's Return, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, who continued in *England*, and so the more liable to Reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the Aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had it in care to preserve the Reputation of a joint Innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their Friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed Animosity against each other; insomuch as it was generally believed upon the King's Return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry Men chuse to determine the right, or that both of them would have desired the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the World might have discerned, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those Expedients, and lived only as Men who took no delight in each other's Conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfied that there had been no Treasonable contrivance (from which his Father had absolved them) did not think it fit, upon such a Subject, to make strict Inquisition into Inadvertencies. Indiscretions, and Presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had passed in that Affair, which they

B O O K
X.

made not public, but gave in writing to such of their Friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any Inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the Integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or suborned to gratify any Persons with a disservice to their Master. They were both of them great Opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's Understanding; but, as it usually falls out in Men of that kind of Composition, and Talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and consequently, to be advised by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately begun to know, than old Friends, and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable Service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the King's business, from the time that they came into the Army, they never conversed with the same Persons; but governed them-

selves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. *Ashburnham* seemed wholly to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward Civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other Men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him “ that it was better for both their ends, in respect of
“ the jealousy the Parliament had of them, that they
“ should understand each other’s mind, as to the
“ Transaction of any particulars, from third Persons
“ mutually intrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together;” and Sir *Edward Ford*, who had Married *Ireton*’s Sister, but had been himself an Officer in the King’s Army from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his Brother-in-Law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other Officers of the Army, who had given *Ashburnham* reason to believe that they had honest Purposes.

Berkeley had not found that respect, from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that he expected; at least discerned it to be greater towards *Ashburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great Names, but greater Interest, as he thought, in the Soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. *Staines*, who, though a Dr. in *Physic*, was Quarter-Master-General of the Army; and one *Watson*, who was Scout-Master-General of the Army; both of the Council of War, both in good

B O O K credit with *Cromwell*, and both notable Fanatics,
X. and professed Enemies to the *Scots*, and the Presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted, and instructed to Caress Sir *John Berkeley*, and, by admiring his Wisdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on Their's; and dissimulation had so great, and supreme an influence on the Hearts and Spirits of all those who were trusted, and employed by *Cromwell*, that no Man was safe in their Company, but he who resolved before, not to believe one word they said. These two Persons knew well how to humor Sir *John Berkeley*, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame *Ireton's* stubbornness towards the King, and to fear that he often prevailed upon *Cromwell* against his own Inclinations: They informed him of many particulars which passed in the Council of Officers, and sometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King received by *Ashburnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirmed Sir *John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the first who positively advertised the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service; and the first who seemed to apprehend that the King's Person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his Life.

I do not believe that Sir *John Berkeley* knew any thing of the King's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolved at such an hour, and in such a place, to take Horse, and was himself required to attend him;

nor do I, in truth, think that the King himself, when he took Horse, resolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City; others, that he intended for *Jersey*; and that was the ground of the Question to Mr. *Ashburnham*, "where is the Ship?" Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Isle of *Wight*. I am not sure that Mr. *Ashburnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Isle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the King from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an Assassination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. *Ashburnham* had so great a detestation of the *Scots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City; and did really believe that if his Majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many with a purpose that he should be there concealed, till some favorable conjuncture should offer itself (for no body imagined that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have entered into a Contest with that Army which had so lately subdued them) the security of such an escape was not to be relied on, and very earnestly dissuaded his Master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of

B O O K
X.

that civility and kindness the Officers of the Army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient, and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the Person of the King; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they knew not how to apply any
" remedy to it, whilst his Majesty was in the Army;
" but that they would quickly correct or subdue it,
" if the King were at any distance from them;" and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, some body who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of *Wight* as a good place to retire to, and Colonel *Hammond* as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr. *Ashburnham* might keep by him; for the Lord *Langdale's* relation of such a Paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a Person of unblemished honor and veracity, he had not any temptation; yet Mr. *Ashburnham* did constantly deny that he ever saw any such Paper, or had any thought of the Isle of *Wight* when the King left *Hampton-Court*, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent Actions of his Life, to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Master to the Isle of *Wight*, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which,

which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all Men as such a transcendent crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him. B O O K
X.

The sudden unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impression upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majesty would do that which He wished he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appeared, to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his return. The Army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was most frightened with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until some conspiracy should be ripe, and all his Party should be present in *London* to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from *Hampton-Court*, than they passed an Ordinance of both Houses, by which they declared, “that it should be Confiscation of Estate, and loss of Life, to any Man who presumed to harbour and conceal the King’s Person in his House, without revealing, and making it known to the Parliament:” which, The Parliam^t’s beha-
viour upon the
news of the
King’s with-
drawing, and
where he was

B O O K
X.

no doubt, would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discovered, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious Presbyterians Houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent Posts to all Ports of the Kingdom "that they might be shut, and no Person be suffered to Embark, lest the King, in disguise, Transport himself;" and a Proclamation was issued out, "for the banishing all Persons who had ever borne Arms for the King, out of *London*, or any place within twenty miles of it;" and all Persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several Prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigor. But all these doubts were quickly cleared, and, within two days, *Cromwell* informed the House of Commons, "that he had received Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of all the manner of the King's coming to the Isle of *Wight*, and the Company that came with him; that he remained there in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known." He assured them, "that Colonel *Hammond* was so honest a Man, and so much devoted to their Service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any Body;" and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King was where He wished he should be.

And now the Parliament maintained no farther contests with the Army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the Presbyterians in both

Houses, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that some close correspondences they had held with the King during his abode at *Hampton-Court*, would be discovered; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflamations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But *Cromwell* had more cause to fear a fire in his own Quarters, and that he had raised a Spirit in the Army which would not easily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull Presbyterian humor of *Fairfax*; who wished nothing that *Cromwell* did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: These Agitators, had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the Copies he had given them, and offered such Advices to the Parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the King or any reason to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army; and in such a place as the Army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all necessary impression upon them, He desired to restrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter Rules of obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Con-

B O O K consultations concerning the settling the Government of
X. the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the Parliament; whose Authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismissed from State-Affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They entered into new Associations, and made many Propositions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of *Levellers*; which appeared a great Party. They did not only meet against the express Command of their Officers, but drew very considerable parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privy of their Superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such Engagements, as would in a short time have dissolved the Government of the Army, and absolved them from a dependance upon their General-Officers. The suppression of this Licence, put *Cromwell* to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of Their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false Brothers to comply in the Counsels of the Conspirators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an

ordinary Guard at those meetings ; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some Questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent Answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his Troop ; and took such a number of them as he thought fit ; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to *London* to a more formal Trial. By two or three such Encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that Spirit in the Army, though it continued and increased very much in the Kingdom ; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of *Cromwell*, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

B O O K
X.

Cromwell
suppresses a
Tumult of the
Levellers.

All opposition being thus suppressed and quieted, and *Cromwell* needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the Parliament, they sent a Message to the King, briefly proposing to him, “ that he would “ forthwith grant his Royal Assent to four Acts of “ Parliament ;” which they then sent to him. By one of them, he was to confess the War to have been raised by him against the Parliament ; and so that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the Government of the Church by Bishops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they proposed ; leaving the settling a future Government in the place thereof to farther time and Counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the Militia in the Manner

The Parlia-
ment sends a
Message to the
King to pass
four Acts.

BOOK

X.

and in the Persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any Subject was capable of. In the last place, he was in effect, to sacrifice all those who had served, or adhered to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The Persons who were sent with these four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Answer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commissioners of Parliament there came likewise the Commissioners of *Scotland*, who, after the four Bills were delivered, and read to the King, the very next day, desired an Audience; and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a Declaration, and Protestation on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against those Bills and Propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, and Interest of the Kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two Kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, did declare their dissent." The King had received Advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the Bills, he should presently be made a close Prisoner, and all his Servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the Commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive Answer, he resolved that his Answer should not be known till it was delivered to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his escape, before new Orders could be sent from *Westminster*: so when the

The Commissioners of
Scotland enter
a Protestation
against them.

B O O K

X

The King
gives his
Answer to the
Parliament-
Commis-
sioners.

Commissioners came to receive his Answer, he gave it to them sealed. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commissioners, and a Person very ungracious to the King told him, "that though they had
" no Authority to treat with him, or to do any thing
" but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be
" looked upon as Common Messengers," and to carry back an Answer that they had not seen: and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, "they
" would return without any, except they might see
" what they carried."

His Majesty conceived that their return without his Answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them, "that he
" had some reason for having offered to deliver it
" to them in that manner; but if they would give
" him their words, that the Communicating it to
" them should be attended with no prejudice to him,
" he would open it, and cause it to be read," which they readily undertook (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it) and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The Answer was, "that his
" Majesty had always thought it a matter of great
" difficulty to comply in such a manner with all en-
" gaged Interests, that a firm and lasting Peace might
" ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed,
" since the Commissioners for *Scotland* do solemnly
" protest against the several Bills, and Propositions,
" which the two Houses of Parliament had presented
" to him for his Assent; so that it was not possible for
" him to give such an Answer as might be the founda-
" tion of a hopeful Peace." He gave them many

B O O K unanswerable reasons "why he could not pass the four
X. " Bills as they were offered to him; which did not
 " only divest him of all Sovereignty, and leave him
 " without any possibility of recovering it to him or
 " his Successors, but opened a door for all intolerable
 " oppressions upon his Subjects, he granting such an
 " arbitrary and illimited power to the two Houses."
 He told them, "that neither the desire of being freed
 " from that tedious and irksome condition of Life,
 " which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension
 " of any thing that might befall him, should ever
 " prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the
 " conditions of the whole Peace should be concluded;
 " and then that he would be ready to give all just and
 " reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for
 " the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a per-
 " sonal Treaty (and therefore very earnestly desired
 " the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at
 " *London*, or any other place they would rather
 " chuse." As soon as this Answer, or to the same
 effect, was read, he delivered it to the Commissioners;
 who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand,
 and departed for *Westminster*.

Presently af-
 ter, Hammond
 removes the
 King's old
 Servants from
 about him.

The Commissioners were no sooner gone than
Hammond caused all the King's Servants, who till then
 had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put
 out of the Castle; and forbid any of them to repair
 thither any more; and appointed a strong Guard to
 restrain any Body from going to the King, if they
 should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, and
 surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all
 the hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, "that it

“ was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did
 “ not become a Man of honor or honesty to treat him
 “ so, who had so freely put himself into his Hands.”
 He asked him, “ whether the Commissioners were
 “ acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this
 “ manner?” to which he Answered, “ that they were
 “ not; but that he had an Order from the Parliament
 “ to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by
 “ his Answer to the Propositions, that he Acted
 “ by other Counsels than stood with the good of
 “ the Kingdom.”

This insolent and imperious proceeding, put the
 Island (which was generally inhabited by a People
 always well affected to the Crown) into a high
 Mutiny. They said, “ they would not endure to see
 “ their King so used, and made a Prisoner.” There
 was at that time there one Captain *Burly*, who was of
 a good Family in the Island. He had been a Captain
 of one of the King’s Ships, and was put out of his
 Command when the Fleet Rebelled against the King;
 and then he put himself into the King’s Army, where
 he continued an Officer of good Account to the end
 of the War, and was in one of the King’s Armies
 General of the Ordnance. When the War was at an
 end, he repaired into his own Country, the Isle of
Wight; where many of his Family still lived in good
 Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *New-*
port, the chief Town in the Island, when the King
 was thus treated, and when the People seemed gene-
 rally to resent it with so much indignation; and was
 so much transported with the same fury, being a Man
 of more Courage than of Prudence and Circumspec-

Thereupon
 Captain *Burly*
 stirs up the
 People in the

B O O K tion, that he caused a Drum to be presently beaten,
X. and put himself at the head of the People who flocked
 Island; but is together, and cried "for God, the King, and the
 quickly sup- " People;" and said, "he would lead them to the
 pressed, con- " Castle, and rescue the King from his Captivity."
 demned, and
 executed.

The attempt was presently discerned to be irrational, and impossible; and by the great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Castle, the People were quieted, and all Men resorted to their own Houses; but the poor Gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate Loyalty. For *Hammond* caused him presently to be made Prisoner; and the Parliament, without delay, sent down a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief-Baron of the Exchequer for such Services, presided; who caused poor *Burly* to be, with all formality, indicted of High-Treason for Levying War against the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which the Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemned him, and the honest Man was forthwith hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumstances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which struck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any Man to a formal Legal Trial by the Law to deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High-Treason for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties they had yet exercised by their Courts of War; which, though they took away the Lives of many innocent Men, left their Estates to their Wives

and Children; but when they saw now, that they might be condemned of High-Treason before a sworn Judge of the Law for serving the King, by which their Estates would be likewise Confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their Hearts entire, without being involved by their Actions in a Capital transgression.

Upon the receipt of the King's Answer, there appeared a new Spirit and Temper in the House of Commons; hitherto, no Man had mentioned the King's Person without Duty and Respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked Counsellors; who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough." But now, upon the refusal to pass these Bills, every Man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost Sauciness, and Licence; each Man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his Invective. *Cromwell* declared, "that the King was a Man of great parts, and great understanding" (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without) "but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to be trusted." And thereupon, repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the Army, that his Majesty wished that such, and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it; "that whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon Their Wisdom and Counsel for the Settlement and Composing the Distractions of the King-

B O O K
X.

How the
King's Answer
is received by
the Parlia-
ment, and
Cromwell's
Speech of the
King there-
upon.

B O O K
I.

Vote of no
more Ad-
dresses to the
King, etc.

dom, he had, at the same time, secret Treaties with
the *Scottish* Commissioners, how he might embroil
the Nation in a new War, and destroy the Parlia-
ment. He concluded, that they might no farther
trouble themselves with sending Messages to him,
or farther Propositions, but that they might enter
upon those Counsels which were necessary towards
the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having
farther recourse to the King." Those of his Party
seconded this advice with new Reproaches upon the
Person of the King, charging him with such abomin-
able Actions, as had been never heard of, and could
be only suggested from the malice of their own
Hearts; whilst Men who had any Modesty, and
abhorred that way of proceeding, stood amazed and
confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and
without Courage to give any notable opposition to
their Rage. So that, after several days spent in passi-
onate debates to this purpose, they Voted "that they
would make no more Addresses to the King, but
proceed towards settling the Government, and
providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in such
manner as they should judge best for the benefit
and liberty of the Subject:" and a Committee was
appointed to prepare a Declaration to inform and
satisfy the People of this their Resolution, and the
grounds thereof, and to assure them, "that they had
Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner." In
the mean time, the King, who had, from the time of
his coming to the Isle of *Wight*, enjoyed the liberty
of taking the Air, and refreshing himself throughout
the Island, and was attended by such Servants as he

had appointed, or sent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those Bills, from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the Castle beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, after this Vote of the House of Commons, that there should be no more Addresses made to him, all his Servants being removed, a few new Men, for the most part, unknown to his Majesty, were deputed to be about his Person to perform all those Offices which they believed might be requisite, and of whose Fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that they were without any reverence or affection for the King.

It is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from *Hampton-Court*, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the General-Officers of the Army at *Windfor*; where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were present, to consult what should be done with the King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators, and resolved to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the Officers of the Army; who were they who swayed the Parliament, and the Army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always Fastings and Prayers, made at the very Council by *Cromwell* or *Ireton*, or some other *Inspired* Person, as most of the Officers were, it was resolved "that the King should be prosecuted for his Life as a Criminal Person:" of which his Majesty was advertised speedily by *Watson*, Quarter-Master-General of the Army; who

B O O K
X
A meeting of
Cromwell and
the Officers at
Windfor,
wherein they
design the
King's
Destruction.

B O O K
X.

was present; and had pretended, from the first coming of the King to the Army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the Resolution was a great secret, of which the Parliament had not the least intimation, or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would Murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the People know their Intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their Declaration "that they would
" make no more Addresses to the King," that by an Interregnum they might feel the pulse of the People, and discover how they would submit to another form of Government; and yet all Writs, and Process of Justice, and all Commissions, still issued in the King's Name without his consent or privy; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himself, and by his immediate Order, was now performed by the Parliament; and, instead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same Obedience from the People.

The Vote of
no more Ad-
dresses se-
conded by a
Declaration.

This Declaration of no more Addresses, contained a charge against the King of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his Government, or before, not without a direct Insinuation, as if "He
" had conspired with the Duke of *Buckingham* against
" the life of his Father; the prejudice he had brought
" upon the Protestant Religion in Foreign parts, by

“ lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who employed them against *Rochelle*:” they renewed the remembrance, and reproach of all those grievances which had been mentioned in their first Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their Declarations before and after the War; which had been all so fully Answered by his Majesty, that the world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treason: they charged him with being “ the cause of all the blood “ that had been spilt, by his having made a War upon “ his Parliament, and rejecting all Overtures of Peace “ which had been made to him; and in regard of all “ these things, they resolved to make no more Address to him, but, by their own Authority, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.”

This Declaration found much opposition in the House of Commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the Person of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own published Declarations to the People, charged upon the evil Counsellors, and Persons about him; and some Persons had been sentenced, and condemned for those very crimes which they now accused his Majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and *John Maynard*, a Member of the House, and a Lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular, and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed, and contradicted the most odious Parts of their Declaration, told them

Mr. Maynard's
Argument
against it

B O O K plainly, " that by this resolution of making no more
 X. " Addresses to the King, they did, as far as in Them
 " lay, dissolve the Parliament; and that, from the time
 " of that determination, he knew not with what
 " security, in point of Law, they could meet together,
 " or any Man join with them in their Counsels: That
 " it was of the Essence of Parliament, that they should
 " upon all occasions repair to the King; and that his
 " Majesty's refusal at any time to receive their Peti-
 " tions, or to admit their Addresses, had been always
 " held the highest breach of their Privilege, because
 " it tended to their dissolution without dissolving
 " them; and therefore if they should now, on their
 " parts, determine that they would receive no more
 " Messages from him (which was likewise a part of
 " their Declaration) nor make any more address to
 " him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they
 " were no longer a Parliament; and then, how could
 " the People look upon them as such ? " This Argu-
 mentation being boldly pressed by a Man of that
 Learning and Authority, who had very seldom not
 been believed, made a great impresson upon all Men
 who had not prostituted themselves to *Cromwell*, and
 his Party. But the other side meant not to maintain
 their resolution by discourses, well knowing where
 their strength lay; and so still called for the Question;
 which was carried by a plurality of Voices, as they
 foresaw it would; very many Persons who abhorred
 the determination, not having Courage to provoke
 the powerful Men by owning their dissent; others,
 satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw
 themselves, and to bear no farther part in the Counsels;
 which

which *Maynard* himself did; and came no more to the House in very many Months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of Men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same. B O O K
X.

When this Declaration was thus passed the Commons, and by them sent to the House of Peers for their concurrence, the Manner or the Matter was of that importance as to need much Debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that House, and was immediately Printed, and published, and new Orders sent to the Isle of *Wight*, for the more strict looking to, and guarding the King, that he might not escape.

The publishing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the People, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the Parliament in several unwarrantable Employments and Commissions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themselves from the Service of the Parliament, and much inveighed against it, for declining all the Principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private Persons took upon them to publish Answers to that Declaration, that, the King himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no Answer, the People might not be poisoned with the belief of it. And the several Answers of this kind wrought very much upon the People, who opened their Mouths very loud against the Parliament and the Army; and the clamor was increased by the increase of Taxes,

B O O K and Impositions, which were raised by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garrisons thereof, that they had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their Army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and the Crown-Lands; for which they found Purchasers enough amongst their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, and upon composition with Delinquents, and the sale of their Lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their Estates were all under Sequestration, and the Rents thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their Compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, to preserve the rest, and their Houses from being pulled down, and their Woods from being wasted or spoiled) Notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the People of their Burden, and should suffice to pay the Army their expenses at Sea, and Land, their debts were so great, that they raised the public Taxes; and, besides all Customs, and Excise, they Levied a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thousand pounds by a Land-Tax throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no Enemy who contended

with them, was an Evidence that it would have no end, and that the Army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that upon the publishing this last monstrous Declaration, most of those Persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common People succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in Quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtained, all distinction of Quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior Constables, six or seven years before, were now the Justices of Peace, and Sequestrators, and Commissioners; who executed the Commands of the Parliament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with such rigor and Tyranny, as was natural for such Persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal Contrivers

B O O K
X.

of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own Ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little Power, and Authority, and Security; whilst the whole Government of the Nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in Their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

The King being in this melancholic neglected Condition, and the Kingdom possessed by the new Rulers, without control, in the new method of Government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their Peace, and future Security; that beside the general discontent of the Nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were to expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Scotland*; which would, in the Progress, have an influence upon *England*.

The Affairs
of Ireland.

In *Ireland* (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being in the Army) though they were possessed of *Dublin*, and, upon the matter, of the whole Province of *Munster*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Lord *Broghill*; yet the *Irish* Rebels had very great Forces, which covered all the other parts of the Kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Irish*, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined Fighting upon any inequality of Number: they had an apprehension of another Enemy. The Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at

Hampton-Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in *London*, by all those who had served the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army; and by the *Scottish* Commissioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; insomuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to stay six Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might Transport himself into what part he desired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his Majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the King left *Hampton-Court*, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one Servant, rid into *Sussex*; and in an obscure and unguarded Port or Harbour, put himself on board a Shallop, which safely Transported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis
of Ormond
transports
himself out
of England
into France.

At the same time, there were Commissioners arrived from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholics; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The Factions grew so great amongst the *Irish* themselves, and the Pope's Nuntio

B O O K exercised his Authority with so great Tyranny and
X. Insolence, that all were weary of him ; and found that the Parliament, as soon as they should send more Forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits, and necessities. They therefore sent Commissioners to the Queen and Prince to desire, “that by their favor, they might have the “ King’s Authority again among them ;” to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miscarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of *Antrim*, who was one of the Commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest Ambition (though without any Qualifications for any great Trust) had entertained the hope, that by the Queen’s favor, who had too good an opinion of him, the Government of *Ireland* should be committed to Him, and his Conduct ; which none of the other Commissioners thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Marquis of *Ormond*, in whom the King’s Authority was vested ; for he remained still Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King’s Commission ; and they had reason to believe that all the *English* Protestants, who had formerly lived under his Government (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the *Irish* would not be able to defend or preserve themselves) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult Employment, and so referred the Commissioners to make all their Overtures, and Propositions to him ; who knew well enough,

what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the King's Service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for the King's Service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing, might have a good effect upon the temper of *England* towards the mending his Majesty's Condition there.

First, the Cardinal *Mazarin* (who then absolutely governed *France*) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good Sum of Money, and store of Arms and Ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the *Scottish* Engagement, and to a resolution of many Persons of great Honor in *England*, to appear in Arms at the same time; which was designed for the Summer following, whereby the Parliament, and Army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable Supplies into *Ireland*; without which, their Power there, was not like to be Formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in *England*, held a close correspondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, President of the Province of *Munster* in *Ireland*, who had the full Power and Command of all the *English* Army there; which was a

The Reasons
that moved
the Marquis
to go again
into Ireland.

BOOK
X.

better Body of Men than the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Masters, and did not think the Service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majesty's Service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of the Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his Majesty's Restoration; and had frankly promised the Marquis to receive him into *Munster*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, should pay him all Obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a Cessation with the *Irish* in Order to a firm conjunction of that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into *France*, he received still Letters from that Lord to hasten his Journey thither.

These were the Motives which disposed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himself for that Expedition; and so he concerted all things with the *Irish* Commissioners; who returned into their Country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at *Paris*, not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any

conjunction with the *Irish* (for of the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no suspicion) or were confident of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of Trouble from *Ireland* as they were of their Brethren from *Scotland*; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an Army; which, they believed, would find too many Friends in *England*, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament, and the City. Besides, they knew that some Persons of Quality and Interest, who had served the King in good Command in the late War, were gone into *Scotland*, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the first appearance.

After the King had been so infamously delivered up to the Parliament by the *Scots* at *New-Castle*, and as soon as the Army had possessed themselves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehension that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the King to his just Rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what Their Lot must be; and therefore, the same Commissioners who had been joined with the Committee of Parliament in all the Transactions, made haste to *Westminster* again to their old Seats, to keep their Interest; which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict Union between the two King-

B O O K

X.

Duke Hamilton goes
into Scotland.

doms, and that all Transactions should be by joint Counsels. And as soon as the King appeared with some show of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appeared with more confidence than the *Scottish* Commissioners; the Earl of *Lowden*, the Earl of *Lautherdale* and the rest; as if they had been the Men who had contrived his Restoration: No Men in so frequent Whispers with the King; and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent Correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly persuaded the King “to trust them, as the only Persons-“ who had Power and Credit to do him Service, and “to redeem him from the Captivity he was in.” Duke *Hamilton*, who had been sent Prisoner by the King to the Castle of *Pendennis*, and had been delivered from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoyed his Liberty at *London*, and in his own House at *Chelsea*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scottish* Army and at *New-Castle*; and some time before his Majesty was delivered up to the Parliament-Commissioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own House at *Hamilton*; looked upon by that Nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the King’s Jealousy, and displeasure, and who remained still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about *London*, he found means to converse with many of the King’s Party, and made great professions that he would do the King a very signal Service, which he desired them to assure his Majesty of; and seemed exceedingly troubled and ashamed

at his Country Men's giving up the King. His having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in *England*, and to be received with the more respect in *Scotland* by all those who abhorred that Transaction.

B O O K
X.

The Commissioners who attended his Majesty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the
" Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his Credit, and Authority
" in the Council, and in the Army; so that nothing
" could be done which was desired by honest Men;
" but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongst them,
" who they knew was most devoted to his Majesty,
" they should be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the
" proceedings of the Army and the Parliament, were
" so foul, and so contrary to their public Faith, that
" they were confident that all *Scotland* would rise as
" one Man for his Majesty's defence and vindication;
" and they were well assured, there would such a
" Party in *England* of those who were faithful to his
" Majesty, appear at the same time, that there would
" be little Question of being able, between them, to
" be hard enough for that part of the Army that
" would oppose them;" which his Majesty knew well was resolved by many Persons of Honor, who afterwards performed what they had promised.

When the Commissioners had, by these Insinuations, gained new credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reasonable before such an Invasion, which was likewise to be hastened,

B O O K that it might be at the same time when the Marquis
 X. of *Ormond* should appear in *Ireland*) they begun to

The Commis-
 sioners of
 Scotland's
 private Treaty
 with the King
 at Hampton-
 Court.

propose many conditions, which would be necessary for his Majesty to engage himself to perform towards that Nation; without which it would not be easy to induce it into so unanimous a consent and engagement, as was necessary for such an enterprize. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, "that the Prince of *Wales* should be
 " present with them, and march in the head of their
 " Army; and desired that Advertifement, and order,
 " might be sent to that purpose to the Queen; and
 " the Prince, at *Paris*; that so his Highness might be
 " ready for the Voyage, as soon as they should be
 " prepared to receive him." The King would by no means consent that the Prince should go into *Scotland*, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that Party there; but he was contented, that when they should have entered *England* with their Army, then the Prince of *Wales* should put himself in the head of them. They demanded, "that
 " such a Number of *Scots*-men should be always in
 " the Court, of the Bed-Chamber, and all other
 " places about the Persons of the King, and Prince,
 " and Duke of *York*: that *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, should
 " be put into the hands of the *Scots*;" and some other concessions with reference to the Northern Counties; which trenched so far upon the Honor and Interest of the *English*, that his Majesty utterly refused to consent to it; and so the Agreement was not concluded when the King left *Hampton-Court*. But, as soon as he was at the Isle of *Wight*, the *Scottish* Commissioners

repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the Parliament for his Royal Assent to those four Bills spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to Sign the Propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension from the Jealousies they knew the Army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to *London*, they made up their precious Contract in Lead, and buried it in a Garden in the Isle of *Wight*; from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant were those Men to their Principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their Allegiance; to which neither Conscience nor Honor did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some Months at *London* to adjust all Accounts, and receive the remainder of those Monies they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to *Scotland*, with the hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the Presbyterian Party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now incumbent upon them: and in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant Letters, as by frequent Emissaries of their Clergy, or other Persons, whose devotion to their Combination was unquestionable.

B. O. O. It
 x.
 Which Treaty
 was renewed;
 and He signed
 it at the Isle
 of Wight.

It can never be enough wondered at that the *Scottish* Presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unrestrained by Con-

B O O K science as any of the Officers of the Army were, and
A. only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their Interest by such conditions, and limitations, as all wise Men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together, it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependance was upon the Assistance they should find ready to join with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable Persons who in the contest with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whose Interest, Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publicly profess that all the King's Friends should be most welcome, and received by them; nor did they trust any one Presbyterian in *England* with the knowledge of the Particulars contained in the Agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three Persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as easily have over-run the Country before their Army invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *English-Man* have

joined with them. Besides the infamous Circumstances by which they extorted Concessions from the King, which would have rendered any Contract odious (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assigned both to the *English* and *Scottish* Commissioners, so that his Majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with Himself upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more Then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal) the particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the honor and interest of the *English* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all Men, with all possible indignation.

After they had made his Majesty give a good Testimony of their League and Covenant, in the preface of their Agreement, and “that the Intentions of those who had entered into it, were really for the preservation of his Majesty’s Person and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power and greatness, they obliged him as soon as he could, with Freedom, Honor, and Safety, be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the said League and Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken, or should take it.” It is true, they admitted a Proviso, “that none who was unwilling, should be constrained to take it.” They likewise obliged his Majesty “to confirm by Act of Parlia-

B O O K
K.

The substance
of the Treaty
Signed the 20th
of Dec. 1647.

B O O K
X.

“ment in *England*, Presbyterian Government; the
 “Directory for worship; and the Assembly of Di-
 “vines at *Westminster*, for three years; so that his Ma-
 “jesty, and his Household, should not be hindered
 “from using that form of Divine Service he had for-
 “merly practised; and that during those three years
 “there should be a Consultation with the Assembly
 “of Divines, to which twenty of the King’s nomina-
 “tion should be added, and some from the Church
 “of *Scotland*; and thereupon it should be determined
 “by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament,
 “what form of Government should be established
 “after the expiration of those years, as should be most
 “agreeable to the word of God: that an effectual
 “course should be taken by Act of Parliament, and
 “all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppress-
 “sing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians,
 “Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists,
 “Antinomians, Arminians, Familyists, Brownists,
 “Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers,
 “and, generally, for the suppressing all Blasphemy,
 “Heresy, Schism, and all such scandalous Doctrines
 “and Practices as are contrary to the light of Nature,
 “and to the known Principles of Christianity, whether
 “concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or
 “the power of Godliness, or which may be destruc-
 “tive to Order and Government, or to the Peace of
 “the Church or Kingdom.” The King promised,
 “that in the next Session of Parliament, after the
 “Kingdom of *Scotland* should declare for his Majesty,
 “in pursuance of this Agreement, he should in Per-
 “son, or by Commission, confirm the League and
 “Covenant

“ Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning all
“ the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that King-
“ dom,” his Majesty declared, “ that he should then
“ likewise be content to give assurance by Act of
“ Parliament, that neither He, nor his Successors,
“ should Quarrel, call in Question, or command the
“ contrary of any of them, nor question any for
“ giving obedience to the same.” Then they made a
long recital of “ the agreement the Parliament of
“ *England* had made, when the *Scots-Army* returned
“ to *Scotland*, that the Army under *Fairfax* should be
“ disbanded; and of that Army’s submitting there-
“ unto; of their taking the King from *Holmby*, and
“ keeping him Prisoner till he fled from them to the
“ Isle of *Wight*; and since that time both his Majesty,
“ and the Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
“ had very earnestly desired that the King might
“ come to *London*, in safety, honor, and freedom, for
“ a Personal Treaty with the two Houses and the
“ Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*;
“ which, they said, had been granted, but that the
“ Army had, in violent manner, forced away divers
“ Members of the Parliament from the discharge of
“ their trust, and possessed themselves of the City of
“ *London*, and all the strengths, and Garrisons of the
“ Kingdoms: And that by the strength, and influence
“ of that Army, and their adherents, Propositions
“ and Bills had been sent to the King without the
“ advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
“ contrary to the Treaties which are between the
“ two Kingdoms, and destructive to Religion, his
“ Majesty’s just Rights, the Privileges of Parliament,

B O O K
X.

“ and Liberty of the Subject; from which Proposi-
 “ tions, and Bills, the *Scottish* Commissioners had
 “ dissented, and protested against, in the name of the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*.

After this preamble, and recital, they said, “ that
 “ forasmuch as his Majesty is willing to give satis-
 “ faction concerning the settling Religion, and other
 “ matters in difference, as is expressed in this agree-
 “ ment, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and
 “ engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and manner
 “ to endeavour that the King may come to *London*
 “ in safety, honor, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty
 “ with the Houses of Parliament and the Commis-
 “ sioners of *Scotland*, upon such Propositions as
 “ should be mutually agreed on between the King-
 “ doms, and such Propositions as his Majesty should
 “ think fit to make; and for this end all Armies
 “ should be disbanded; and in case that this should
 “ not be granted, that Declarations should be emitted
 “ by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this
 “ agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the
 “ two Houses of Parliament towards his Majesty and
 “ the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they would
 “ assert the Right that belonged to the Crown, in the
 “ power of the Militia, the Great-Seal, bestowing
 “ of Honors and Offices of trust, choice of the Privy-
 “ Counsellors, and the Right of the King’s Negative
 “ Voice in Parliament: And that the Queen’s Majesty,
 “ the Prince, and the rest of the Royal Issue, ought
 “ to remain where his Majesty shall think fit in either
 “ of his Kingdoms, with safety, honor, and freedom:
 “ That, upon the issuing out this Declaration, an

“ Army should be sent out of *Scotland* into *England*,
“ for the preservation, and establishment of Religion;
“ for defence of his Majesty’s Person, and Authority,
“ and restoring him to his Government, to the just
“ Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for
“ defence of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liber-
“ ties of the Subject; for making a firm Union be-
“ tween the Kingdoms under his Majesty, and his
“ Posterity, and settling a lasting Peace.” In pursuance
whereof, the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to endeavour
“ that there might be a free and full Parliament in
“ *England*, and that his Majesty may be with them in
“ honor, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy
“ period be set to the present Parliament. And they
“ undertook, that the Army which they would raise,
“ should be upon its march, before the Message and
“ Declaration should be delivered to the Houses.” It
was farther agreed, “ that all such in the Kingdoms
“ of *England*, and *Ireland*, as would join with the
“ Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this Agree-
“ ment, should be protected by his Majesty in their
“ Persons, and Estates; and that all his Majesty’s
“ Subjects in *England* or *Ireland* who would join
“ with him, in pursuance of this Agreement, might
“ come to the *Scottish* Army, and join with them, or
“ else put themselves into other Bodies in *England*
“ or *Wales*, for prosecution of the same ends, as the
“ King’s Majesty should judge most convenient, and
“ under such Commanders, or Generals of the *Englisk*
“ Nation, as his Majesty should think fit: And that
“ all such should be protected by the Kingdom of
“ *Scotland*, and their Army, in their Persons and

B O O K
X.

“ Estates; and where any injury or wrong is done
 “ unto them, they would be careful to see them fully
 “ repaired, as far as it should be in their power to
 “ do; and likewise when any injury or wrong is done
 “ to those who join with the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
 “ his Majesty shall be careful of their full reparation.
 “ They obliged his Majesty to promise “ that neither
 “ himself, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge,
 “ should make or admit of any Cessation, Pacification,
 “ or Agreement whatsoever for Peace, nor of any
 “ Treaty, Propositions, Bills, or any other ways for
 “ that end, with the Houses of Parliament, or any
 “ Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, without the
 “ advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*;
 “ and reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of
 “ *Scotland*, nor any having their Authority, should
 “ make or admit of any of these any manner of way,
 “ with any whatsoever, without his Majesty’s advice
 “ or consent: And that, upon the settlement of a
 “ Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion to be
 “ agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments
 “ of both Kingdoms: That his Majesty, the Prince,
 “ or both, should come into *Scotland* upon the invita-
 “ tion of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that
 “ they should be in honor, freedom, and safety, when
 “ possibly they could come with safety, and con-
 “ venience; and that the King should contribute his
 “ utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for
 “ assisting the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on
 “ this War by Sea and Land, and for their Supplies
 “ by Monies, Arms, Ammunition, and all other
 “ things requisite, as also for guarding the Coasts of

“ *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Mer- B O O X
“ chants in the free exercise of their Trade and Com- X.
“ merce with other Nations: and likewise that his
“ Majesty was willing, and did Authorize the *Scottish*
“ Army to possess themselves of *Berwick, Carlisle,*
“ *New-Castle upon Tyne*, with the Castle of *Tinmouth,*
“ and the Town of *Hartlepool*: those places to be for
“ Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peace
“ of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom
“ of *Scotland* should remove their Forces, and deliver
“ back again those Towns and Castles.”

And as if all this had not been recompence enough for the wonderful Service they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promise and undertake to pay, the remainder of that Brotherly Assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large Treaty after their first invasion of *England*, and likewise two hundred thousand pounds, which remained still due upon the last Treaty made with the Houses of Parliament for return of the *Scottish* Army, when they had delivered up the King; and also, “ that payment should be made to
“ the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the charge, and ex-
“ pense of their Army in this future War, with due
“ recompence for the losses which they should sustain
“ therein; and that due satisfaction, according to the
“ Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms,
“ should be made to the *Scottish* Army in *Ireland*, out
“ of the Lands of the Kingdom, or otherwise: And
“ that the King, according to the Intention of his
“ Father, should endeavour a complete Union of
“ the two Kingdoms, so as they may be one under
“ his Majesty, and his Posterity; or if that cannot

B O O K
X

“ speedily be effected, that all Liberties and Privi-
“ leges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufac-
“ tures, peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation,
“ shall be common to the Subjects of both Kingdoms
“ without distinction; and that there be a Communi-
“ tion, and mutual capacity, of all other Liberties of
“ the Subjects in the two Kingdoms: That a com-
“ petent Number of Ships should be yearly assigned,
“ and appointed out of his Majesty’s Navy, which
“ should attend the Coasts of *Scotland*, for a Guard,
“ and freedom of Trade of that Nation; and that his
“ Majesty should declare that his Successors, as well
“ as Himself, are obliged to the performance of the
“ Articles, and Conditions of this Agreement; but
“ that his Majesty shall not be obliged to the perfor-
“ mance of the aforesaid Articles, until the Kingdom
“ of *Scotland* shall declare for him in pursuance of this
“ Agreement; and that the whole Articles, and
“ Conditions aforesaid, shall be finished, perfected,
“ and performed, before the return of the *Scottish*
“ Army; and that when they return into *Scotland*,
“ at the same time, *simul & semel*, all Armies should
“ be disbanded in *England*.” And for a compliment,
and to give a relish to all the rest, the King engaged
himself “to employ those of the *Scottish* Nation equally
“ with the *English* in all Foreign Employments, and
“ Negotiations; and that a third part of all the Offices
“ and Places about the King, Queen, and Prince,
“ should be conferred upon some Persons of that
“ Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one of
“ them, will frequently reside in *Scotland*, that the
“ Subjects of that Kingdom may be known to them.”

This Treaty and Agreement being thus presented to the King by the *Scottish* Commissioners in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, his Majesty was prevailed with to sign the same the 26th day of *December* 1647; and to oblige himself, “in the word of a King, to perform His part
“of the said Articles;” and the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the Earl of *Lanrick*, being intrusted as Commissioners from that Kingdom, signed it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves “upon their Honor,
“Faith, and Conscience, and all that is dear to honest
“Men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power,
“that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should engage to
“perform what was on its part to be performed;
“which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland*
“would do, and they themselves would hazard their
“Lives and Fortunes in pursuance thereof.

No Man, who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that such an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained so many monstrous Concessions, that, except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewise imprisoned in *Carisbrooke*-Castle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was possible to be performed; and the three Persons who were Parties to it, were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observed; which they used as the best Argument, and which only prevailed with the King, “that the
“Treaty was only made to enable them to engage
“the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raise an Army, and to
“unite it in his Majesty’s Service; which less than
“those Concessions would never induce them to do;

B O O K
X.

“ but when that Army should be entered into *Eng-*
 “ *land*, and so many other Armies should be on foot
 “ of his *English* Subjects for the vindication of his
 “ Interest, there would be no body to exact all those
 “ particulars; but every body would submit to what
 “ his Majesty should think fit to be done;” which,
 though it had been urged more than once before to
 induce the King to consent to other inconveniencies,
 which they would never after release to him, did pre-
 vail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in
 the belief of it, they were contented that it should be
 inserted under the same Treaty, as it was, “ that his
 “ Majesty did declare, that by the Clause of con-
 “ firming Presbyterian Government by Act of Par-
 “ liament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling
 “ Presbyterian Government, nor to present any Bills
 “ to that effect; and that he likewise understands that
 “ no Person whatsoever shall suffer in his Estate, nor
 “ undergo any Corporal punishment, for not submit-
 “ ting to Presbyterian Government; his Majesty
 “ understanding that this indemnity should not ex-
 “ tend to those who are mentioned in the Article
 “ against Toleration:” and to this the three Earls
 likewise subscribed their hands, “ as Witnesses only,
 “ as they said, that his Majesty had made that Decla-
 “ ration in their presence, not as Assenters;” so wary
 they were of administering jealousy to their Masters,
 or of being thought to be less rigid in so Fundamental
 a Point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

The Author's
 judgment of
 the different
 Conduct of

There was a wonderful difference, throughout
 their whole proceedings, between the heads of those
 who were thought to sway the Presbyterian Coun-

fels, and those who governed the Independents, though they were equally Masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their Intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of Conscience, the Independents always doing that, which how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two Reasons that might naturally produce this ill Success to the Latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favored the other. First, their Councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many Men, whose humors and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other Party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their Interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the Progress they had made.

In the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the Scots, formed all their Counsels by the Inclinations, and Affections of the People; and first considered how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far

B O O K
X.

the two Parties, the Independent English and the Presbyterian Scots.

B O O K
X.

they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless, and wretched Clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted, and governed the People, and whose Authority was prevalent upon their own Wives, and in their Domestic Affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: Whereas, on the other side, *Cromwell*, and the few others with whom he Consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cozen and deceive Men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon Motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolved, only to do what they believed the People would like and approve; and the other, that the People should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different Success in all they undertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other Men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking (He was as great an Enemy to Tyranny and Injustice in any Government, as any Man then was, or now is; and says) "that a Man were better be a Dog than be subject to those Pas-

“ fions and Appetites, which possess all Unjust, and
“ Ambitious, and Tyrannical Persons;” but he con-
fesses, “ that they who are so transported, and have
“ entertained such wicked designs as are void of all
“ Conscience, must not think to prosecute them by
“ the rules of Conscience, which was laid aside, or
“ subdued, before they entered upon them; they
“ must make no scruple of doing all those impious
“ things which are necessary to compass and support
“ the Impiety to which they have devoted them-
“ selves; and therefore he commends *Cæsar Borgia*
“ for not being startled with breach of Faith, Per-
“ juries, and Murders, for the removal of those Men
“ who he was sure would cross, and enervate the
“ whole Enterprize he had resolved, and addicted
“ himself to; and blames those Usurpers, who had
“ made themselves Tyrants, for hoping to support a
“ Government by Justice, which they had assumed
“ unjustly, and which having wickedly attempted,
“ they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough.”
The common old Adage, “ that he who hath drawn
“ his Sword against his Prince, ought to throw away
“ the Scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again,
“ will still hold good;” and they who enter upon
unwarrantable Enterprizes, must pursue many unwar-
rantable ways to preserve themselves from the
penalty of the first guilt.

Cromwell, though the greatest Dissembler living,
always made his Hypocrisy of singular use and benefit
to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or
imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was ne-
cessary to the design; even his roughness and unpo-

BOOK
X.

lishedness, which, in the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness, and complacency, which his Cousin, and bosom-Friend, Mr. *Hambden* practised towards all Men, was necessary; and his first public Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to his Troop when it was first Mustered, “that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his Commission, to Fight for King and Parliament;” and therefore told them, “that if the King chanced to be in the Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would as soon discharge his Pistol upon Him as any other private Person; and if their Conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves in his Troop, or under his Command;” which was generally looked upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the professions the Parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet served his turn, and severed from others, and united among themselves, all the furious, and incensed Men against the Government, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, to look upon him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unsociable Humor in not keeping company with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollities, and Excesses, to which most of the superior Officers under the Earl of *Essex* were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved Natures, to his Society and Conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their Understandings, Inclina-

tions, and Resolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew to have a wonderful Interest in the Common-Soldiers, out of which, as his Authority increased, he made all his Officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their Soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes: whilst he looked upon the Presbyterian Humor as the best incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presbyterian; he sung all Psalms with them to their Tunes, and loved the longest Sermons as much as they; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their Rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in Religion, which he cared not for; and then that the Government must run still in the same Channel; it concerned him to make it believed "that the State had been more De-
" linquent than the Church, and that the People
" suffered more by the Civil than by the Ecclesiastical
" Power; and therefore that the Change of one,
" would give them little ease, if there were not as
" great an alteration in the other, and if the whole
" Government in both were not reformed, and
" altered;" which though it made him generally odious at first, and irreconciled many of his old Friends to him, yet it made those who remained, more cordial and firm: he could better compute his own strength, and upon whom he might depend. This discovery made him contrive the new Model of the Army; which was the most unpopular Act, and disobliged all those who first contrived the Rebellion, and who were the very Soul of it; and yet, if he had

B O O K
X.

not brought that to pass, and changed a General, who, though not very sharp-sighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no Eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and He remained a private Colonel of Horse not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Composition.

After all the Successes of his new Model, he saw his Army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the King, than that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, and Reduction of the King to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the Subjection of the King; nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of Monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the Enterprize, and with the Power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the People against the *Scottish Nation*, “as being a mercenary aid, entertained at a
“ vast Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be
“ paid their Wages, and to be dismissed, without
“ having the honor to judge with them upon what
“ conditions the King should be received, and re-
“ stored; the accomplishing whereof, ought to be
“ the particular Glory of the Parliament without a
“ Rival, and that the King might owe the benefit
“ wholly to Them.” And this was as popular an Argument as he could embark himself in, the whole

Kingdom in general having at that time a great detestation of the *Scots*; and they who most desired the King's Restoration, wished that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal Applause, he compelled the *Scottish* Army to depart the Kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seemed nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the *English* Army, in so general a discontent throughout the Kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within itself; that the Common-Soldiers should erect an Authority distinct from their Officers, by which they would chuse to govern against their Superior Commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an Interest of their own severed from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had scarce ever been heard of before in any Army, and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; yet, if he had not raised this seditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New-Castle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocrisy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniencies which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cause to

B O O K
X.

the King to suspect the safety of his Person, and thereupon to make his Escape from the Army; by which his Majesty quickly became a Prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his Counsels, How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent Actions, will be observed in its place.

Contrary to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their first Invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some Conditions in their Counsels and Transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their public Interest, and to their particular Designs. It is very true, that their first Invasion, saving their breach of Allegiance, might have some excuse from their Interest. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had received great Bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of *England* by King *James* and the present King, yet those particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the most part, Persons of little Interest in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them "were against Conscience, and an Invasion of their Religion;" from which they had vindicated themselves so rudely, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if those Persons whom they had most provoked, retained their interest still with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they
were

promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure Relief and Security for both Kingdoms. In this Enterprize, the Success crowned their work; they were thought a Wise, and Resolute Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they returned into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honor and Interest from all Assaults; and their being suborned afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *English* Rebels to their Obedience, by the strength and power of his Arms) to make a second Invasion of the Kingdom, was a weak and childish Engagement, directly opposite to their Interest, except they had at the same time a Resolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpose to do) or to withdraw it from the present King. Again, when his Majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his Royal Person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was surely their Interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his Party in vindication of the

B O O K Law, and the Government established; and if they
X. had not had the Courage at that time to have looked
 the *English* Army in the face, as apparently they had
 not, it had been their Interest to have retired with the
 King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and,
 leaving good Garrisons in *New-Castle*, *Berwick*, and
Carlisle, all which were in their possession, to have
 expected a Revolution in *England* from the Divisions
 amongst themselves, and from some conjunction
 with a strong Body of the King's *English* Party, which
 would quickly have found themselves together; but
 the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it,
 was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought
 their Interest.

After all this, when they found themselves cozened,
 and deceived in all the measures they had taken,
 and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived
 them, to have a new opportunity to serve the
 King, and then to insist upon such Conditions as must
 make it impossible for them to serve him effectually,
 was such a degree of weakness, and a depraved under-
 standing, that they can never be looked upon as Men
 who knew what their Interest was, or what was
 necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we
 shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they
 adhered to this obstinate and froward Method, in all
 the Transactions they afterwards had with the King;
 all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own
 Ruin, and the Destruction of that Idol they Adored,
 and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to
 our discourse, from whence this tedious digression
 hath misled us.

The King's

All designs and Negotiations, abroad and at home,

being in this state and condition, the King remained under a strict, and disconsolate imprisonment, no Man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all Letters which might pass to, or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some Inhabitants of the Island, to receive important Advertisements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and so he informed her of the *Scottish* Transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seemed to have some ease; and looked upon it as a good Omen, that in that desperate lowness of his Fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majesty's gracious disposition, and generous affability still wrought upon some Soldier, or other Person placed about him, to undertake, and perform some Offices of trust, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or some desperate Men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. But many who did undertake to perform those Offices, did not make good what they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

In the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Public; but in all those Transactions which concerned particular Persons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments,

BOOK

X.

condition in
the Isle of
Wight at
this time.

The present
condition of
the Parlia-
ment.

B O O K or matter of profit, Men were considered according
X. to the Party they were of; every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were removed from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in Those fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who, though they had not so great Congregations of the Common-People, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial, and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To these Men *Cromwell*, and most of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judged by the Preaching, and Congregations in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such illimited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Consecrations. Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inspired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himself was the greatest Preacher; and most of the Officers of the Army, and many Common-Soldiers, showed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurred so far as to join with them for the utter abolishing of Tithes, as of Judaical Institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one

Party, and defended by the other, with equal passion, and Animosity. If any honest Man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole Kingdom.

During all this time, the Prince remained at *Paris* under the Government of his Mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the Age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Assignment which was made by the Court of *France* for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and received by Her, and distributed as she thought fit; such Clothes and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon Her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of *Wales* to be a Pensioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highness's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever Master of ten Pistolles to dispose as he desired. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief-Officer, and governed all Her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore His aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by

The Prince's
condition at
Paris.

B O O K
X.

Him; which made most Persons of Honor of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chuse rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do so little; nor was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own Business.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was received very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the Person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the most universal reputation of any Subject the King had. He pressed a speedy despatch, that he might pursue his designs in *Ireland*; where he longed to be, whilst the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the Queen, and the Lord *Fermyn*, of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the *Irish* Commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a coin that Court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

When the Queen, who was as zealous for the despatch as was possible, pressed the Queen-Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, she received in words all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the Marquis spoke first with the Cardinal upon the Subject, he

found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good Sum of Money, and such a Proportion of Arms, and Ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that those Provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the King's Affairs as to disoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: so that Affair advanced very slowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages, and important Transactions of two whole years into this Book, that I might not interrupt, or discontinue the relation of the mysterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocrisy, and Diffimulation, practised towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile Artifices of the *Scottish* Commissioners to draw the King into their hands, and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their Nation from being destroyed, the many woeful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the Subject of the discourse in the next Book.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K XI.

Deut. xxix. 24.

Even all Nations shall say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land? what meaneth the heat of this great Anger?

Lam. ii. 7.

The Lord hath cast off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the walls of his Palaces; they have made a noise in the House of the Lord as in the day of a solemn feast.

B O O K
XI.

The temper
of the Nation
at this time.

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almost as general a detestation both of Parliament and Army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed Government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his Majesty's recovery, never People were better disposed to erect and repair again the Building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In *England* there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of

Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had served the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Testimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model, looked upon the present Army with hatred, as those who reaped the harvest and reward of Their labors, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly: The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it against the King, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior People preferred to all places of trust and profit: The Presbyterian Ministers talked very loud; their Party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, and the importunity and clamor from *Ireland*, for supplies of Men and Money against the *Irish*, who grew powerful, raised the Courage of all discontented Persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the Army, and the Officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of “the want of supplies to *Ireland*, and that, having so great an Army without an Enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that Kingdom.” This Argument made a new warmth in the House of Commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the Army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new Spirit, and pressed the relief of *Ireland* with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the Expenses of the Money, and how such vast Sums received had been disbursed; which

The Affairs
of Ireland
during the
Lord Lisle's
being there:

B O O K was a large Field, and led them to many Men's doors
XI. upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

There was a design this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the subduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamors from thence, got the Lord *Lisle*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, to be sent under the Title of Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commission for a limited time. He had landed in *Munster*, either out of the Jealousy they had of the Lord *Inchiquin*, or because the best part of their Army of *English* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *English* no relief, nor weakened the power or strength of the *Irish*, but rather increased their reputation by the Faction and bitterness that was between the Lieutenant and the President, who writ Letters of complaint one against the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commission being expired, and the contrary Party not suffering it to be renewed, the Lord *Lisle* returned again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Inchiquin*, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the Command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and every day informing the Parliament of the ill condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of Men and Money, when he knew they would send neither.

Waller nomi-
 nated General

Upon the return of the Lord *Lisle* the Presbyterians

renewed their design, and caused Sir *William Waller* to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his Service) because he could quickly draw together those Officers and Soldiers which had served under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old General. At the first, *Cromwell* did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*, and all the Officers who were willing to go with him; who he knew were not his Friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw *Waller* insist upon great Supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well formed and disciplined Army should be under the power of *Waller*, and such Officers, he changed his mind; and first set his Instruments to cross such a supply of Men and Money, as he had proposed; "the one, as more than necessary for the Service, and the other as more than they could spare from their other occasions:" and when this check was put to *Waller's* Engagement, he caused *Lambert* to be proposed for that Expedition, a Man who was then fast to the same Interest He embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the Army. He formalized so long upon this, that *Ireland* remained still unsupplied, and their Affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

The Scots made so much noise of their purposes, even before their Commissioners left *London*, and gave such constant Advertisements of the

B O O K

XI.

there, but
opposed by
Cromwell;
who proposed
Lambert.

B O O K
XI.

impatience of their Country-men to be in Arms for the King, though they made no haste in providing for such an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief Correspondents, and the Royal Party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former Guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his Imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in Liberty from any Presbyterian Impositions, which they still apprehended the Scots might endeavour to oppose, though they had no suspicion of the Engagement lately mentioned at the Isle of *Wight*.

The Earl of
Holland pre-
pares to rise
with the Duke
of Bucks and
others.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from *Oxford*, notably despised by all Persons of Credit in the Parliament and the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by descent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and was Privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he had used to have, though he was the High-Admiral of *England* by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary Services. He did not restrain, or endeavour to suppress the Earl of *Holland's* discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many others of that Gang of Men did; resolving that the Scots should not do

all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, were newly returned from Travel, and though both very young, were strong and active Men, and being, in respect of their Infancy, uningaged in the late War, and so unhurt by it, and coming now to the possession of large Estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the friendship of the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themselves in his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Resolutions to his old Mistress the Queen at *Paris*, who was always disposed to trust him, and the Lord *Jermyn* and He renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

So a Commission was sent from the Prince to the Earl, to be General of an Army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the King from Prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough*, and *John Mordaunt* his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Northampton*, and all the Officers who had served the King in the War, with which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the Earl of *Holland*, and received Commissions from him for several Commands.

This Engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a County in *England*, in which

B O O K
XI.

there was not some Association entered into to appear in Arms for the King. They who had the principal Command in *Wales* under the Parliament, sent to *Paris* to declare, “that, if they might have supply of
“Arms and Ammunition, and a reasonable Sum for
“the payment of their Garrisons, they would declare
“for the King, having the chief-places of those Parts
“in their Custody.” The Lord *Jermyn* encouraged all those Overtures with most positive Undertaking; that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the Service miscarried, and many Gallant Men were lost.

Cromwell, to whom all these Machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose Combination could produce, than, by seizing upon Persons, to engage the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian Party had so great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, “he would not
“march against the *Scots*,” whom he had a good mind to have visited before their Counsels and Resolutions were formed; and *Cromwell* had reason to believe, that *Fairfax* would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have Invaded the Kingdom.

The Scots
preparations
for an Ex-
pedition into
England.

All things being in this forwardness in *England*, it is fit to inquire how the *Scots* complied with their obligations, and what Expedition they used in raising their Army. After the Commissioners return from *London*, upon the King's being made Prisoner in the

Isle of *Wight*, it was long before the Marquis of *Argyle* could be prevailed with to consent that a Parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new stipulation with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great Undertaker, and meant to have all the Honor of whatsoever should follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scotland* lived at first very privately at his own House; seldom went abroad to any Meeting; and to those who came to him, and to whom that Resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a Man that thought more of revenge upon those who had Imprisoned him, than of assisting the Crown to recover the Authority it had lost. *Argyle*, whose power was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his Government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the People generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So Summons were issued for the Convention of a Parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the King, and to set him at Liberty from his Imprisonment (which was all they pretended) were the Earl of *Lanrick*, Brother to Duke *Hamilton*, and then restored to his Office of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Imprisoned at *Oxford*, and made his escape from thence; and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who

B O O K
XI.

had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the Rebellion, when he was scarce of Age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent Fierceness and Animosity.

The Characters
of Lanrick and
Lautherdale.

They were both Men of great Parts and Industry, though they loved pleasures too; both Proud and Ambitious; the Former, much the civilier and better bred, of the better Nature, and better Judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most Men of that Party: the Latter, Insolent, Imperious, Flattering, and Dissembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want of the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experience and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms in their darkest designs. The Former, was a Man of Honor and Courage; the Latter, had Courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of Honor to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

These two were the chief Managers and Contrivers to carry on this Affair, for though the Chancellor, the Earl of *Lowden*, had been a Commissioner in *England*, and as privy to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as They, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vitious Life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the Interest and Skill they had, to get such Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and
the

the People generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivering up of the King to the *English*, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their Country; and so had great prejudice to all Men who were thought to be the cause of it.

At the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the People against the Army in *England*: which, they said, “had forced the Parliament there to break the Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill usage of the King, who was Imprisoned by the Army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament to set him at Liberty: That they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permitting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which the Kingdom of *Scotland* was concerned, in that being independent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, they were by them deprived of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his Majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the Law of Nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations Human and Divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their King’s Liberty, and their own Honor, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those Counsels,

B O O K
XI.
The Parliament met in Scotland; and their deliberations.

B O O K
XI.

“ which might soonest get an Army together, which
“ should no sooner enter *England*, but it would find
“ a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, except
“ only the Army ; and that it would then quickly
“ appear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms de-
“ sired the same thing, and to live happily under
“ the Government of the same King.”

This discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal Men, was entertained by the rest with so general a reception, that *Argyle* found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the Election of the Knights and Burgeses had succeeded according to the wishes of the other Lords, and that they would concur with whatsoever was proposed ; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of their Clergy ; who believed all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired,
“ that they would very well weigh the manner of
“ their proceeding in an affair of so great concern-
“ ment, which was like to terminate in a bloody War
“ between the two Kingdoms ; which had hitherto
“ proceeded as Brethren, and had both reaped great
“ benefit and advantage from the conjunction : and
“ he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of those
“ foundations which had been laid in the years by
“ gone, which supported that Government, and
“ made that Kingdom happy ; which if dissolved,
“ all the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt
“ and undergone, would break in upon them with
“ a torrent that should destroy them.” Every Body declared, “ that there was no purpose to swerve, in

“ the least degree, from what was established for
 “ the Government in either Kingdom, by their so-
 “ lemn League and Covenant, which they had in
 “ perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obli-
 “ gation upon them to do all that had been pro-
 “ posed ;” upon which *Argyle* acquiesced as satisfied,
 not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their
 Counsels, he should find opportunity enough to
 obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the
 conclusion, and execution.

The Lords who had been in *England*, and fre-
 quented *Hampton-Court*, whilst the King was there,
 to make themselves the more gracious, had treated
 all the King's Party with all manner of careffes, and
 more particularly had much applied themselves to
 those Gentlemen of the North who had most emi-
 nently served the King, and who had good Fortunes
 there to support their Interest. Of this kind there
 were two very notable Men, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*,
 and Sir *Philip Musgrave* ; both Men of large and plen-
 tiful Estates, the one in *Yorkshire*, the other in *Cum-*
berland and *Westmoreland* ; who having been in the
 time of Peace eminent in their Country in the Offices
 of Justices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had
 in the beginning of the War, engaged themselves in
 Commands in the King's Army with great reputation
 of stout, diligent, and active Officers ; and continued
 to the end, and had not after applied themselves to
 make any composition, but expected a new oppor-
 tunity to appear with their Swords in their hands.
 They were both looked upon by the Parliament,
 and the chief Officers of the Army, with great

Sir M. Lang-
 dale and Sir
 P. Musgrave
 and others,
 treated with
 by the Scots,
 and invited
 into Scotland;
 whither they
 went.

BOOK

XI.

jealousy, as Men worthy to be feared, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The *Scottish* Lords had not been scrupulous to let these two Gentlemen know what they intended, and “that they
“ made no question but they should engage their
“ whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a present
“ War with *England* on the King’s behalf; and there-
“ fore desired them, by the Interest, and Influence
“ they had upon the Northern Counties, to dispose
“ them to a conjunction with them.” And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any Security about *London*, much less in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotland*, where they assured them, “they should not only be
“ safe, but very welcome; and should be Witnesses
“ of their Proceedings, and have parts of their own
“ to act in, as soon as the Season should be ripe.”

These Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and whilst the Army made those professions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief Officers thereof, and had been Quartered with them as Friends, knew well, now the Mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being persuaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they accepted their Invitation, and told them, “they
“ should quickly find them in *Scotland* after their
“ own return.” Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own Countries, and directed their Friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way

how to correspond together, they went into *Scotland* to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place" (which they recommended to them) "and there to remain in secret, and under feigned Names, until the calling of the Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edinburgh*, and appear in their own likenesses with all freedom." So after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated for some Months, when the Parliament was assembled at *Edinburgh*, they returned thither; and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the fore-mentioned Lords telling them all they meant to do, and what Arts they were to use till they could get their Army up, towards which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

Though the *Scottish* Commissioners had withdrawn from *London*, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the Parliament, both in imprisoning the King, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the Government of that Kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own Security by quitting their Station at *London*, where they received every day Affronts, and their Persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner Preparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, Commissioners sent from the

B O O K
XI.
two Houses
into Scotland.

than Commissioners were sent from the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* to reside at *Edinburgh*, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active Party there. They were received with the same show of respect, and the same care was taken for their Accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of *Argyle*, and his Party, very diligently visited them, and performed all offices of respect towards them, but even the *Hamiltonian* Faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the War attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the Peace and Amity between the two Nations.

That rigid Party of the Clergy which so adored the Covenant in the strictest sense of the Letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependance upon the King, but in effect to lay him aside, and to settle the Government without him, as their Brethren in *England* had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such Presents and Pensions from the *English* Commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much Money was given to make them fast Friends. By this means nothing was resolved, or proposed in the most secret Councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their Army at hand to second them. They took notice of the resort of so many *English* to *Edinburgh*, and that there were many amongst them who had

been in Arms against the Parliament, and demanded
 “ that they might either be banished that Kingdom,
 “ or delivered to them to be sent to the Parliament.”

B O O K
 XI.

They were so clamorous in this Argument, and found so much countenance to their clamor, that they who had invited the *English* thither, had not the Courage to own them; but advised them underhand, “ to absent themselves from the Town, till “ that storm should be over.” And even Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave*, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at *London*, the *Scottish* Lords had sent to confer with as they passed through the Northern parts Homewards, and had then conferred with them, and desired them “ to “ prepare all things with their Friends for the sur- “ prisal of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, when the Season “ should be Ripe; and that they would hasten their “ Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of “ danger of imprisonment;” even these Men were desired, “ either to withdraw again from *Edinburgh*, “ or to keep their Chambers there, and not to be “ seen abroad, until their Army should be raised, and “ such a General made choice of as would take care “ of their Protection.” And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that Duke *Hamilton* should be that General; who often conferred with them in private, and always assured them, “ that whatever was, in that place and season, dis- “ coursed of the Covenant, which was very neces- “ sary to bring their designs to pass, he should be no “ sooner invested in the Command his Friends de- “ signed for him, than he would manifest his resolu-

BOOK
XI.

“ tion to join with the King’s Party, upon the true
 “ Interest of the Crown, without which he would
 “ hope for little success in *England* :” and he desired
 them, “ though they saw little appearance yet of
 “ raising an Army, which would be as soon finished
 “ as begun, by the method they were accustomed to
 “ use, that they would write very earnestly to their
 “ Friends in *England* to begin, as soon as might be,
 “ to execute the designs they had laid, in as many
 “ parts of the Kingdom as they could, upon confi-
 “ dence that they should receive relief before they
 “ could be oppressed.” To the same purpose they
 “ writ to the Queen, and desired that the Prince
 “ might be in a readiness to be with them against the
 “ time their Army should be ready to march; which,
 “ they assured Her, should be by the beginning of
 “ *May*.” All which several Advertisements, being
 communicated in *England*, found a People too ready
 to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the
 work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet
 they were hastened by such Accidents, as, in truth,
 made their appearance even necessary.

The King, whilst he was at *Hampton-Court*, when
 he foresaw that the Army would not comply with
 him, as he once believed, and resolved to get them-
 selves out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before,
 directed the Duke of *York*, who was of years to be
 trusted with the secret, “ that, when a fit opportunity
 “ should be offered, he should make his Escape into
 “ the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the direc-
 “ tions of his Mother :” and about this time, when
 so much Action was expected, which probably might

produce many alterations, his Majesty, in all places, found some way to advertise the Duke, "that it would be a very proper Season for him to make his Escape." The Person who was intrusted to contrive it was Colonel *Bamfield*, a Man of an active and insinuating Nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the King's Service; he had served the King in the late War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other Party, and was in truth much more conversant with the Presbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the Duke of *York* and the other Children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The Duke and his Brother and Sister were then kept at St. *James's*, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park to walk and exercise themselves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and other Persons of condition, were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner *Bamfield* had been sometimes there; and after he had informed the Duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small Vessel to be ready about the Custom-House, and to have its Pass for *Holland*, and then advertised the Duke to be ready in the close of an Evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other Children, in a Room from whence there was a pair of Stairs to the Garden, he might,

B O O K
XI.

The Escape of
the Duke of
York beyond
Sea from St.
James's

B O O K untaken notice of, get thither ; from whence there
XI, was a door into the Park where *Bamfield* would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that the Duke came at the hour to the place ; where the other met him, and led him presently where a Coach was ready, and so carried him into a private House ; where he only stayed whilst he put on Women's Apparel, that was provided for him ; and presently, with Colonel *Bamfield* only, went into a pair of Oars that was ready ; so passed the Bridge, and went on Board the Vessel that was ready to receive him ; which immediately hoisted Sail, and arrived safe in *Holland*, without any Man of the Ship having the least imagination what Freight they carried.

The Duke, as soon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodging, resolving no longer to use his Woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his Sister, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, of his Arrival ; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the *Hague* ; from whence the Queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was, at she did of his escape from *London*. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go ; so that it was thought best that the Duke should, for the present, stay at the *Hague* with his Sister, till farther resolutions might be taken ; and though the Service which *Bamfield* had performed, was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was necessary to put a Person of a better Quality about his Highness, who might have a

superior Command over the other Servants; and because the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governor of the Duke of *York* by the King, was then in *England*, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in Arms in a quarter assigned to him, Sir *John Berkeley* was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governor in the absence of the Lord *Byron*, which *Bamfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the Men he hated of all Men living, to have the command over him.

B O O K
XI.

Sir John
Berkeley made
his Highness's
Governor in
the absence of
the Lord
Byron.

The Lord *Capel*, who was in the most secret part of all these Intrigues in *England*, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained still in *Jersey*, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to Embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the King's Command to him, "that as soon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon the Prince, he should without delay obey the Summons:" and the King had likewise writ to the Queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the Person of his Royal Highness, in the condition he had formerly done." About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always corresponded with the Chancellor, and informed him of the State of Affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that

B O O K
XI.

“ he believed the Prince would not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his Highness;” which, he said, all the King’s Friends expected he should do; and which he was resolved to do as soon as the Prince should be out of *France*, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent for to the Prince from Jersey.

About the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his Majesty’s Command, sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jersey*, commanding, “ that he would wait upon the Prince in the *Louvre* at *Paris*,” upon a day that was past before the Letter came to his hands. But he no sooner received the Summons, than he betook himself to the Journey, and to transport himself into *Normandy*; where, after he was landed, he made what haste he could to *Caen*, supposing he should there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him notice, “ that he had received the same Command.” When he came to *Caen*, he found the Secretary’s Lady there, but himself was gone to *Roan*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their farther Journey. The old Earl of *Bristol* who had lived likewise at *Caen*, was gone with the Secretary to *Roan*, having likewise received the same Summons with the others to attend the Prince at the *Louvre*. The Chancellor hastened to *Roan*, where he found the Lord *Cottington*, who had still the Title and Precedency of Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and

Secretary *Nicholas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of his Arrival. They had received Advertifement, the day before, “ that the Prince, with all his small Train, was passed by towards *Calais* ;” and direction was sent “ that the Chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way, and the rest, should stay at *Roan*, till they should receive new Orders from *Calais*, where his Royal Highness would take new measures what he was to do.” So they stayed together at *Roan*, where there were at the same time very many *English* of Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *England*, as well as they for their fidelity to the King, and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad, till they might upon some good change return to their own Country. In the mean time they lived very decently together in that City ; where they were well esteemed. The way between *Roan* and *Calais* was so dangerous without a very strong Convoy, that no day passed without Robberies and Murders, so that they were glad of their Order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the Prince ; and within few days they received advice, “ that the Prince had, as soon as he came to *Calais*, put himself on board a Ship that he found there bound for *Holland*, whence they were to hear from him, how they should dispose of themselves.” Whereupon they all resolved to remove from *Roan* to *Dieppe*, from whence they might Embark themselves for *Holland* if they saw cause ; the ways by Land, in regard that both the *French* and the *Spanish* Armies were in the Field, being very dangerous.

The Prince
went into Hol-
land from
Calais.

B O O K

XI.

The Revolt of
part of the
Fleet to the
King from
Rainsborough.

The Prince's remove from *Paris* on such a sudden, proceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to custom, a good Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer-Guard, and appointed *Rainsborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had been bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander at Sea lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was a Colonel of special Note and Account, and of *Cromwell's* chief Confidants. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, and disposed him to that inclination to concur with his Brother lately mentioned. Captain *Batten* likewise was as much unsatisfied, who had acted a great part in the first alienating the Fleet, and the Affections of the Seamen from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the Persons upon whom they principally relied at Sea. *Rainsborough*, as long as he remained in the Navy, had been under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well knew that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the Seamen should not be well pleased with the Alteration; and They looked upon *Rainsborough* as a Man that had forsaken them, and preferred the Land before the Sea-Service. The Seamen are in a manner a Nation by themselves, a humorous, brave, and sturdy People; fierce, and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to, some-

what unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to morrow by whom they are governed to day. These Men, observing the general discontent of the People, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the Army, both Army and Parliament were grown very odious to the Nation, and hearing so much discourse of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be Restored; and then remembering that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's Authority every where else, and a great cause of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's Restoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common-Seamen, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Master of a Ship. This inclination was much improved in them by a general disposition in *Kent* to an Insurrection for the King, and by some Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the custom of that Country; who fomented the good disposition in the Seamen, by all the ways the could.

At this very time there appeared generally throughout *Kent* the same indigested Affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the Seamen, and was Conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been designed by those who took care of the King's Affairs, and who designed those Insurrections which happened in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is contributed nothing to this good disposition

Comotions
in Kent for
the King.

B O O K
XI.

in the Seamen, though they were not without some hope that, upon all other Revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had some expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well affected, and depended upon two or three Gentlemen of that County, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and resolved to bring in some Troops of Horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolved and intended that the *Scottish* Army should be entered the Kingdom, by which the Parliament-Army would be upon their March towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believed that both Country and City would rise together. And so those Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any design, lay Privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their County; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happened to be at some Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr. *L'Estrange* a younger Brother of a good Family in *Norfolk*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting somewhat in his own Country for his Majesty's Service, had been taken Prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemned to die, but being kept in Prison till the end of the War, was then set at Liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old Affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they

they might have done. He had great Friendship with a young Gentlemen, Mr. *Hales*, who lived in *Kent*, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fortune, he being Heir to one of the greatest Fortunes of that County, but was to expect the Inheritance from the favor of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the present kept the young Couple from running into any Excess; the Mother of the Lady being of as sour and strict a Nature as the Grand-father, and both of them so much of the Parliament-Party, that they were not willing any part of their Estates should be hazarded for the King. At the House of this Mr. *Hales*, Mr. *L'Estrange* was, when by the Communication which that part of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lie in the *Downs*, the report first did arise that the Fleet would presently declare for the King, and those Seamen who came on Shore talked as if the City of *London* would join with them. This drew many Gentlemen of the Country who wished well, to visit the Ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a Vice spread every where, and this young great Heir, who had been always bred among his Neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his House was a Rendezvous for those who delighted in that Exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the Fleet for the King; and all Men's Mouths were full of the general hatred the whole Kingdom had against the Parliament as well as the Army. Mr. *L'Estrange* was a Man of a good Wit, and a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enter-

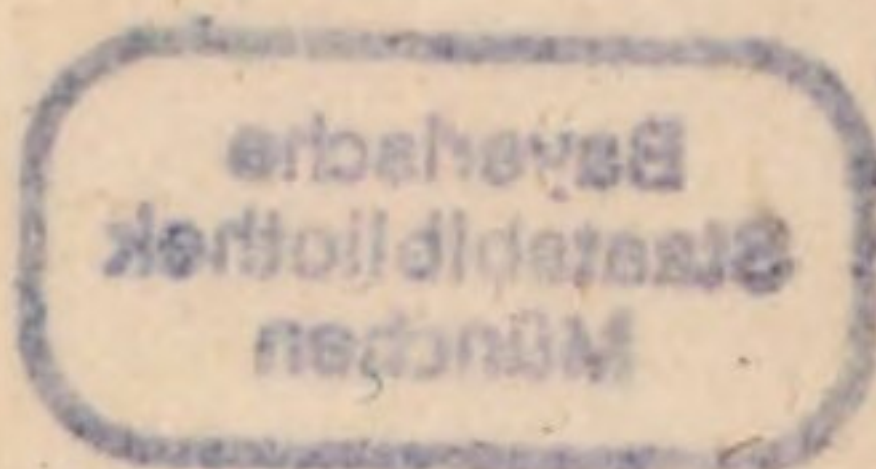
VOL. IX.

H

BOOK
XI.

prising Nature. He observed, by the good Company that came to the House, that the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country were for the King, He begun to tell Mr. *Hales*, "that though his Grand-father did in his heart wish the King well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the Parliament, that he had more need of the King's favor than of his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Grand-father, or more glorious to Him, than to be the Instrument of both;" and therefore advised him "to put himself into the Head of his own Country, which would be led by him, that when the Scots were entered into the Northern parts, and all the Kingdom should be in Arms, he might, with the Body of his Country-men, march towards *London*; which would induce both the City and the Parliament to join with him, whereby he should have great share in the Honor of Restoring the King."

The Company that frequented the House thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honorable: the young Lady of the House was full of Zeal for the King, and was willing her Husband should be the Instrument of his delivery: the young Gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the Affairs of the world to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and so referred himself and the whole Business to be governed, and conducted by Mr. *L'Estrange*, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an able Soldier. He writ some Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he



was informed would receive them willingly, and signed Warrants to the Constables of hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, “ in his Majesty’s name, all
“ Persons to appear, at a time and place appointed,
“ to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offered for relieving the King
“ and delivering him out of Prison.” There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L’Estrange* appeared with Mr. *Hales*, and those Persons which had been used to their Company. Mr. *L’Estrange* spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spoke like a Man in Authority, inveighed against
“ the Tyranny of the Army, which had subdued the
“ Parliament, against their barbarous imprisonment
“ of the King, and against a conspiracy they had to
“ murder him.” He added “ that the Affections of
“ that noble Country were well known to his Majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the
“ Fleet that was in the *Downs* to join with them;
“ and that he doubted not but they would together
“ be too strong for his Enemies, who were like to
“ have enough to do to defend themselves in many
“ other places; and that his Majesty was willing they
“ should have a Gentleman of their own Country,
“ well known to them, to be their General;” and named Mr. *Hales*; who was present. There was not one Man who so much as asked for any Letter or Commission, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously,

B O O K
XI.

clared " they would be ready to join, and march as " their General *Hales* should direct;" and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and listing and forming their Regiments; and in the mean time Mr. *L'Estrange* set out such Declarations, and Engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the People, and required " that they should " be read in all Churches;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former, and with the same forwardness, many coming Armed both Horse and Foot, and showing a marvellous alacrity to the Engagement. Their General then gave out his Commissions for several Regiments, and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when all should come Armed, and keep together in a Body, until it should be fit to march to *London*.

It was known that the Fleet was gone out of the *Downs*, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. It was easy to persuade the People, that they were gone upon some important Enterprize, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, " that it was gone to the Isle of " *Wight* to release the King, who would return with " it into *Kent*;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his Commission, " that he should enjoy that Office " during the Minority of the Duke of *York*;" and the Duke having made his Escape at this time, when there was this Commotion amongst the Seamen, it

was no sooner known that his Highness was in *Holland*, but the Seamen talked aloud "that they would go to their Admiral;" and the Gentlemen of *Kent* stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the Seamen again pressing the Gentlemen to hasten their rising in Arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an Enterprize of that importance.

The Parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the Seamen, and had therefore forbore putting the half of the Provisions aboard the Ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the *Downs*, wanting only half the Victuals they were to have for the Summer-Service. But those Officers which were on board, finding they had no Authority, and that the Seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humor the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they sent *Rainsborough* and some other Officers thither; presuming that the presence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a rough imperious Nature, as soon as he came on board his Ship, begun to make a strict Inquiry into the former disorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortress of *One and All*, and presently laid hold on him, and put Him, and such other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and sent them on Shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the Ships; but they followed their example, and used Their Officers in the same

B O O K

XI.

Rainsborough
and some
other Officers
put on Shore
by the Sea-
men.

B O O K
XI.

The revolted
Ships went
over to Hol-
land.

manner. After they had for some days been feasted and careſſed by the People of *Kent*, ſome of the Gentlemen putting themſelves on board to join with them, and in order to aſſiſt them towards providing ſuch neceſſaries as were wanting, they went out of the *Downs*, and ſtood for *Holland*, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their Anchors before the *Brill*. What was done by the Gentlemen of *Kent* on Shore, and the ſucceſs thereof, will be related hereafter.

This ſo very ſeaſonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjuncture when ſo many Advantages were expected, was looked upon as a ſure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expected ſome Body there, which was true, for ſome time, was the reaſon that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being ſent for by the *Scots*, and how to find himſelf with them) ſhould make all poſſible haſte to *Calais*. This was the Cauſe of that his ſudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other things neceſſary for his Journey. The Cardinal ſhewed no manner of favoring all theſe Appearances of Advantage to the King; he gave leſs countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever done when it was in Rebellion againſt the King; and, notwithſtanding all his promiſes with reference to *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Ormond* remained ſtill at *Paris*, without obtaining Arms or Money in any proportion (both which had been promiſed ſo liberally) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himſelf into *Ireland*.

(where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of Supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was so behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refused to furnish him with any Money; all which discountenances were shortly after remembered to *Cromwell*, as high merit.

B O O K
XI.

The Marquis
of Ormond
goes out of
France into
Ireland.

The Prince's remove was by every Body thought so necessary, that the Lord *Fermyn*, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much Money as was necessary for the Journey; which the King paid long after with full Interest. Dr. *Goffe*, a Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Confident of my Lord *Fermyn*, was presently sent into *Holland*, to dispose the Seamen to be willing to receive the Lord *Fermyn* to Command the Fleet. So solicitous that Noble Man was to be in the head of any Action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being less beloved by the Seamen than any Man that could be named. The Prince made what haste he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, and some other Gentlemen, besides his own Domestics; and finding one of the *English* Frigates before *Calais*, and understanding that the Duke of *York* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet-Sluice*, and had put himself on board the Fleet there, his Highness presently embarked, and made the more haste lest his Brother should be in Action before him, and was received at the Fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that People are accustomed to;

The Prince
it received
at the Fleet.

B O O K they having expressed as much some days before, at
XI, the arrival of the Duke of *York*.

Factions in
 the Prince's
 Fleet.

As soon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince of *Wales* was arrived, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife the Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his Highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction and Disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir *John Berkeley's* coming to the *Hague* to assume the Government of the Duke of *York*, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highness; who was persuaded by Colonel *Bamfield*, that he had been unfaithful as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the Isle of *Wight*. The Colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his Highness' reverence to the Queen, and to dispute her Commands. Then taking the opportunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet-Sluice*, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful Address to the disposing Men to mutiny, and to work upon Common-Men, which the Fleet consisted of, there being no Officers, for the most part, above the quality of a Boat-Swain or Master's Mate, he persuaded them "to declare
 "for the Duke of *York*, without any respect to the
 "King or Prince; and when his Highness should be
 "on board, that they should not meddle in the
 "quarrel between the King and the Parliament, but
 "entirely join with the Presbyterian Party, and the
 "City of *London*; which by this means would bring

“ the Parliament to reason : ” and he prepared his Friends the Seamen when the Duke should come to them, that they would except against Sir *John Berkeley*, and cause him to be dismissed ; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his Highness and the Fleet.

At the same time Dr. *Goffe*, who was a dexterous Man too, and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Seamen, and made them jealous of *Bamfield*'s activity ; and endeavoured to persuade them “ that they should all Petition the Prince (who, he knew, would be shortly with them) “ that the “ Lord *Jermyn* might be made their Admiral ; who “ would be able to supply them with Money, and “ whatsoever else they wanted : that there was no “ hope of Money but from *France*, and that the Lord “ *Jermyn* had all the power and credit there, and “ might have what Money he desired ; ” and by these Agitations, the infant Loyalty of the Seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly Transported himself into *Holland* ; and was arrived at *Rotterdam*, when *Bamfield* returned from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of *York* at the *Hague*. *Bamfield* delivered such a Message from the Fleet as he thought would hasten the Duke's Journey thither ; and told him, “ the Seamen made great inquiry after the Lord *Willoughby*,

B O O K
XI.

“ and much longed to have him with them;” insinuating to the Duke, “ that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the Seamen, and “ was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the “ most acceptable thing his Highness could do to “ carry him with him to the Fleet, and make him “ his Vice-Admiral.” The Duke made all imaginable haste to *Helvoet-Sluice*, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other Officers in the several Ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at Sea. In the mean time *Bamfield* continued his Activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his Patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Bamfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own Journey; which did likewise contribute to the haste his Highness made. He arrived at *Helvoet-Sluice* very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Seamen, upon his Highness’ appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humor; which the Prince knew would be best preserved by Action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at Sea, where he was sure he must be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a short time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Provisions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a short time

procured in a reasonable proportion; and then the Prince set sail first for *Yarmouth-Road*, then for the *Downs*; having sent his Brother, the Duke of *York*, with all his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

B O O K

XI.

The Prince
comes into
the Downs
with the Fleet.

Though the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the Fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his Province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventured at one time on board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own Person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his Sister. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord *Willoughby* (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the Seamen. But Captain *Batten* coming at the same time when his Highness did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best Frigates the Parliament had built, with *Jordan*, and two or three Seamen of good Command, his Highness knighted him, and made him Rear-Admiral of the Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the Seamen, than by putting the same Man, who had Commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the Prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the Seamen (who desired to serve the King upon the clear principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in

B O O K any degree affect *Batten*, because he had failed in
XI. both, and was now of a Party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and disposed from the Queen, to depend wholly upon the Presbyterian Party, which, besides the power of the *Scottish* Army, which was every day expected to invade *England*, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the City of *London*; and the Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr. *Long*, the Prince's Secretary, were trusted by the Queen to keep the Prince steady and fast to that dependance; and his Highness was enjoined to be entirely advised by them; though all the other Lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himself not inclined that way. Dr. *Steward*, the Dean of the King's Chapel, whom his Majesty had recommended to his Son to instruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr. *Earles*, and the rest of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those Infusions. But, by those two, the benefit of this Fleet was principally considered, as a happy means to put the Prince on Shore, that he might be in the head of the *Scottish* Army; and no doubt if that Army had been then entered into *England*, as it was very shortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the Fleet, "to have followed all the advice which should have been sent from the *Scots*."

In the mean time it was though most Counselable, after the Prince had failed some days about the Coast, that the Kingdom might generally know that his Highness was there, that they should all go into the River of *Thames*, and lie still there; by which they

expected two great Advantages; first, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their Trade obstructed; and that their Ships homewards bound, of which, at that Season of the year, they expected many, must fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Seamen, and from setting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the Charge, thought he should be in a better posture to chuse his Party, in any other alteration that should happen at Land.

When the Parliament first heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and saw the Warrants which were sent out and signed by *L'Estrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of *Kent* who sat in the Parliament, assured them, "that there was no such Gentleman in that County;" and Sir *Edward Hales*, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his Grandson could not be Embarked in such an Affair)" they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the Declarations which were published, and were well assured that young *Hales* appeared with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their General, "to send two or three Troops of Horse into *Kent* to suppress that seditious Infurrection;" Sir *Edward Hales* now excusing himself with revilings, threats,

B O O K and detestation of his Grandson; who, he protested,
XI. should never be his Heir.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commission to be General, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the *Scots* being not yet entered; nor did they understand any thing of the business of *Kent*; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a Body, and were so strong that the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the Parliament word, "that they durst not advance, for that the
" Enemy was much stronger than they, and increased
" daily; and that they had sent a Letter to the City
" of *London* inviting them to join with them;" the Earl of *Holland* I say, and the others with him, thought it fit to send them all the countenance, and encouragement they could; and thereupon despatched those Officers who had been designed for the Troops of that County, when the Season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in *London* to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their Friends together, as soon as was possible, to join with their Neighbours; and were told "that
" they should very shortly receive a General from
" the King:" for they did not think Mr. *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Power and Credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to inquire for the King's Commission. The Earl of *Holland* had formed his Party of many Officers who had served both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect

the appearance of their Northern Friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been some Months in *England* under a Pass from the Parliament (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded) willing to engage himself in the Conduct of those in *Kent*, where he was well known and beloved, his Affection and Zeal for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many blank Commissions ready to be disposed as the Service should require, they filled one with His name, by which the Command of all *Kent* was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the King's Service should make requisite." And with this Commission he made haste into *Kent*, and found at *Maidstone* a better Body of Horse and Foot Armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any Army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful Acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. *Ilales*, upon the news of another General to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on the one side, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other side, and upon the Conscience that he was not equal to the Charge, though his Affection was not in the least declined, found means to Transport himself, and Wife, together with his Friend Mr. *L'Estrange*, who had lost his Credit with the People, into *Holland*; resolving, as soon as he had put his Wife out of the reach of her Mother, to return him-

B O O K self, and to venture his Person in the Service which
XI. he could not Conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyterians their Correspondents, the fame of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* being well received at *Edinburgh*, and that many *English* Officers and Soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from *Paris* of Supplies of Arms, Ammunition, and Money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in South-*Wales* Colonel *Langhorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune in Land in those Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, when he had a Command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependance upon him afterwards, and was much in his favor, and by that relation was first engaged in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been without wishing ill to the King: the second was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade raised himself in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and stout Officer, and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Castle of *Pembroke*. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, especially Colonel *Mitton*, were preferred before

before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the *Scots* coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Langhorn*, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober Resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Assurance that they should in time receive those Supplies they stood in need of. And the Lord *Jermyn* sent him a promise under his hand, “that he should not fail of
“receiving all the things he had desired, before he
“could be pressed by the Enemy;” and therefore conjured him, and his Friends, “forthwith to declare
“for the King; which he assured them would be of
“singular benefit, and advantage to his Majesty’s
“Service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the *Scottish* Army would be ready
“to march into *England*.” Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not supplied with Provisions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

The Lord *Byron* had been sent from *Paris*, upon the importunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in several places, as might distract the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement against them; to dispose his old Friends about

B O O K
XI.

Chester and *North-Wales* to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of Colonel *Robinson*, possessed himself of the Island of *Anglesey*, and disposed all *North-Wales* to be ready to declare as soon as the *Scots* should enter the Kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the War even into the heart of *England*, was that some Gentlemen, who had formerly served the King in the Garrison of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders received from him since, when he believed the *Scots* would be in a short time ready to begin their March) surpris'd the strong Castle of *Pontfret* in *Yorkshire* (which had a Garrison in it for the Parliament) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* insecure, except it was with strong Troops. Upon which Argument of the surprise of *Pontfret*, We shall enlarge hereafter, before We speak of the Tragic conclusion of this Enterprize. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

Indeed as to the raising an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should Command, and be General of this Army was the matter upon which the Success of all

they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure Duke *Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Lesley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their prosperous Successes, but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old, and appeared, in the Actions of the last Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honor against the *English*, except assisted by *English*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moment he had performed in this War; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some Affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke *Hamilton* was proposed, as a fit Man to be employed to redeem the Honor of the Nation. He had formerly discharged the Office of General under the King of *Sweden*, where *Lesley*, that had now declined the employment, was Major-General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

Whilst this was depending, *Argyle* took notice of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave's* being in the Town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other *English* Officers in their Company, and desired "that, if they were to

B O O K
XI.

“ have any Command in the Army, they might presently take the Covenant; and that there might be a general Declaration, that there should be neither Officer nor Soldier received into their Army, before he had first taken the Covenant; and that, after they were entered into the Kingdom of *England*, they should make no conjunction with any Forces, or Persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same.” This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the Army for the delivery of the King, being as violent as any to advance that Declaration. And though Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother of *Lanrick* did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of *England*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the Courage in any degree to speak against it; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* were as passionate for the Advancement of it, as *Argyle* himself; and seemed to think that those two Gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after so long knowledge of *England*, and their observation of whom the King's Party did consist, after their so often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself at *New-Castle* from being delivered up to the Parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, “ that any Man should be compelled to take the Covenant;” that they should

still adhere to that fatal Combination against the Church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into Their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and Army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's Party, and designed no less to oppress Them than the Independents, and Anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament to the King, the Insurrection in *Kent*, and other Places, and the general Inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the King, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their March, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute Masters after they had prevailed over the Army. And at last, when they could defer their March no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their Friends in *London*, they sent the Earl of *Lautherdale* with those insolent Instructions, which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the Prince immediately to repair to them; declaring, "that if his Person should not be forthwith in their Army, they would return again into *Scotland* without making any attempt;" and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the Queen was so positive in her Instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other Advantage to the King in *England*.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* no sooner heard of this Declaration, than they went to

BOOK
XI.

those Lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for “having broken their Faiths, and betrayed them into their Country; where they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Answered, that they must give over their design to redeem the King, or yield to this determination, which their Parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from.” And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the Covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those Gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the Country; and told them, “they would deceive those honest People in *England*, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined;” the *Scottish* Lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into *England*; and thereupon desired them, “that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from *Edinburgh*, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the Army should be ready to march;” and Duke *Hamilton*, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, “that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his Army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King’s Friends should be welcome, and without distinc-

“ tion.” So they left *Edinburgh* again, and went to their old Quarters; where they had not stayed long, before the Duke sent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very cheerful reception, he told them, “ he was now ready; and that their Friends in *England* called so importunately for them, that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the Friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two Places.”

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into *Scotland*, adjusted with their Friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon; which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded Commissions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving, under pretence of “ the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own Secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring it to pass, and not His Commission; for which those Towns would have no reverence.” Besides, he told them, “ that the

B O O K
XI.

“ Marquis of *Argyle* had still protested against their
 “ beginning the War by any Act of Hostility against
 “ the *English*, in forcing any of the Towns; which
 “ was not necessary in order to the King’s deliverance;
 “ but that an Army might march to the place where
 “ the King was, to the end that those Messengers who
 “ were sent by the State to speak with the King, might
 “ have liberty to speak with his Majesty; which was
 “ a Right of the Kingdom, and the demanding it
 “ could be no breach of the Pacification between the
 “ two Kingdoms.”

This Argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the Duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did Prevail with him not to give those Commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the Order against giving any Commission to any Man before he had taken the Covenant: And how much Authority soever the Duke might take upon him to dispense with that Order after he should be in *England*, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remained yet at *Edinburgh*: the other was, that, when they had done it without his Commission, he might, upon his March, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the Government, and put *Scots*.men into their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to them; but confessed “ that, though the Council
 “ of *Scotland*, would not attempt the taking of those
 “ Towns, yet when They should be taken, they
 “ would expect the Government thereof should be in
 “ Their hands, and depend upon Them, without

“ which they should not be able to send him those continual Supplies which he expected from them.” And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which Sir *George Monroe* had near raised in the North, and from *Ireland*, who were to begin their March after him, as soon as he should be out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those Governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the Army, at least whilst they stayed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was for the Service that those Towns should remain in the hands of the *English*, without which few of the Gentlemen of those Parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had several Officers, and Soldiers, laid privately on the *Scottish* side to wait his Commands, and more on the *English*; there being two or three good Families within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Some of them Sir *Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scottish* side, at a place about a Mile distant from *Berwick*, the Night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the Town by the rising of the Sun; some about the Market-place, and some upon the Bridge, by which he must enter. The next

B O O K
XI.

Sir M. Langdale surprises Berwick, and Sir P. Musgrave Carlisle soon after.

Morning, being Market-day, when great droves of little Horses, laden with sacks of Corn, always resorted to the Town, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundred Horse, and some few Foot, which walked with the Market-People, presently after Sun-rising, was upon the Bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his Friends there whom he expected, he caused the Bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his Troops went into the Market-place, where he found his Country-Friends ready to do all he would Command. There was so general a consternation seized upon the whole Town, there being no other Garrison but Townsmen, that after they had seized upon the Mayor, who was the Governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their Ports again, that the Market might not be interrupted. Sir *Philip Musgrave*, with as little opposition, possessed himself of *Carlisle*; where he had a greater Interest; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more disinclined to the Scots than those of *Berwick* used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the Duke of what they had done.

It will be much wondered at, that after *Cromwell* plainly foresaw they should have a War with *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence from thence of the Advances they made, he did not take care to put Garrisons into those two Important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought against them. But the same reason which

had been current at *Edinburgh* to this very time, had prevailed at *Westminster*. It was specially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms combined against the King, "that there should be no more Garrisons kept on either side in *Berwick* or *Carlisle*;" where they were then disbanded, and some of their Fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for some time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be sent thither, that the Scots might not pretend that the War was begun by Them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themselves against the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantage-ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever possessed.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* were no sooner possessed of *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly served the King, resorted and flocked to them well Armed, appointed, and provided for the War; so that they had not only very sufficient Garrisons to keep those places, but Troops enough of Horse to free the adjacent Counties from those Forces, and Committees, and other Persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of *April* that Sir *Marmaduke Lang-*

B O O K
XI.

Langdale possessed himself of *Berwick*; and soon after Sir *Philip Musgrave* surprised *Carlisle*, about eight of the Clock at night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbours being in, and about the Town, expecting his Arrival; so that the Citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke *Hamilton*, that they would deliver up the Towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them, "that the King had
"promised, under his hand, that those two Towns
"should be delivered into the possession of the *Scots*;" which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the Parliament, in whose possession they were both when the King signed the Engagement at *Carisbrooke* - Castle. And the Duke had not only refused to give them any Men, or other Assistance towards the taking them, but, as hath been said, would not grant them his Commission to perform it; pretending "that he durst not do it, because they were bound not to begin the War:" only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternity, promised "to send five hundred Muskets, and ten
"Barrels of Powder to each Garrison; and that
"their whole Army should march into *England*
"within twenty days; and that, if they were sooner
"in distress, they should be sure to be relieved."

But after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deferred not to send a Governor and Garrison to receive *Berwick*; to whom Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* delivered it according to his promise; and was required "to march with all the *English* to the
"parts adjacent to *Carlisle*, and there to increase his

“ Troops to what Number he could, with what expedition was possible;” which he performed so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Heath within five Miles of *Carlisle*, where he Mustered above three thousand Foot well Armed, and seven hundred Horse not so well Armed; all which were raised in *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, over and above the Garrison of *Carlisle*; which yet remained under Sir *Philip Musgrave*; and, within two days, five hundred Horse, very well appointed, came out of *Yorkshire*, the Bishopric of *Durham*, and the Neighbour parts; so that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* resolved presently to march into *Lancashire*, to reduce those who were for the Parliament there; which he could easily have done, the Lord *Byron* being ready upon the Borders of *Cheshire* to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an Army, was not well looked upon at *Edinburgh*; and an Express was despatched with positive Orders to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* “not to engage or fight with the Enemy, upon what advantage soever, until the *Scottish* Army should come up.” And wherever that Express should overtake Sir *Marmaduke*, he was immediately to retire with his Forces near *Carlisle*; which he obeyed as soon as he received the Order, and when he might have marched against *Lambert*; who was sent before with a less strength than Sir *Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in all probability would have been Defeated.

But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that Express, Letters were sent from the Council in *Scotland*, by which Sir

B O O K

XI.

Marmaduke Langdale was very severely reprehended, “ for receiving Papists into his Army, and not owning the Covenant in the Declarations which he had published; ” and told, “ that he should receive no Assistance from Them, except the Covenant was embraced by all his Army. ” This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the Engagements they had received from the *Scottish* Lords, both by Words and Letters, “ that they should never be troubled with any such motions, after they were once upon *English* ground; and that then they should proceed upon those Grounds as were like to bring in most Men to their Assistance; ” that Sir *Marmaduke* prevailed with Sir *Philip Musgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to *Edinburgh*, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm Resolution to the Lords there.

Sir *Philip Musgrave*, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a list with him of the names of many Officers in their Troops who had been compelled to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the Sequestrations to be taken from their Estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness sake in the places where they lived; with which the *Scots* were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain still their rigor, that it should be submitted to by the whole Army.

Lambert
marches
against them.

In the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a strong Body of Horse and Foot, advanced upon Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; who being enjoined not to Fight,

was forced to retire to *Carlisle*, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent Letter upon Letter to the Duke “to hasten his March, or to send some Troops to his Assistance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy.

The Earl of *Norwich* had found the Assembly at *Maidstone* very numerous, but likewise very disorderly, and without Government, nor easy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to deliver his opinion of Things and Persons, nor to inquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which implied that many Men wished they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn such a Body together by his frolic and pleasant humor, which reconciled People of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any Enterprize. He had always lived in the Court in such a station of business as raised him very few Enemies; and his pleasant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at least made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favor he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any Body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown Master of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself.

The Earl of
Norwich at
Maidstone
with the
Kentish
Forces.

R O O R
XI.

But he had no experience or knowledge of the War, nor knew how to exercise the Office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to please every Man, and comply with every Body's humor; which was quickly discovered; and so Men withdrew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that *Fairfax* himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the Affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised "that they might retire
" beyond *Rochester*, and by breaking down the Bridge
" there, and Fortifying another Pass or two, which
" was easy to be done, they might keep the Enemy
" from entering into the East of *Kent*" (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous County)
" longer than they would be able to continue the at-
" tempt, for fear of being inclosed by an Enemy at
" their back, if the City of *London*, or those of *Essex*,
" who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for
" the King; and by this means they might be sure of
" a correspondence with the Fleet;" of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some Gentlemen of their own Body were on board the Fleet in some Authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

Many were the more persuaded that the Fleet was gone to the Isle of *Wight* for the rescue of the King, because those Gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the Enemy at a
Bay

Bay for some time. But other Men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe “that *Fairfax* could have leisure to look after them; they were confident that the Parliament had so many Enemies to look after, those in *Wales* growing strong, and having beaten the Party that had been sent against them; and the Officers in the North, who had seized upon *Pontfret* Castle in *Yorkshire*, and had drawn in a strong Garrison from the parts adjacent, had a Body of Horse, that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for *England*; and therefore they concluded that *Fairfax* could not be at leisure to visit them: The retiring would be an Argument of fear, which would dishearten their Friends at *London*, and all those of that part of *Kent*, which must be deserted upon their Retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known;” and therefore they desired, “that they might all march towards *Black-Heath*; which would raise the Spirits of their Friends, and many would resort every day to them out of *London* and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected.”

The Noise for this was the greater, and the Earl of *Norwich* himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general Rendezvous upon *Black-Heath*; and Orders were sent out accordingly.

The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, “that *Fairfax* himself was not willing to march against the Scots;”

B O O K

XI.

Cromwell
advances
against the
Scots:

which was not now Counfelable for him to do. *Cromwell* was very willing to take that Province to himself, and had always fo great a contempt of the *Scots*, that he was willing to march with a much leffer Number than he well knew the *Scottish* Army to confift of; and being informed which way the *Scots* resolved to enter the Kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as foon as they should be entered, with thofe Troops which he had made choice of, having firft fuppreffed the Rifings in *South-Wales* by taking of *Pembroke-Castle*, and making Prifoners therein *Langhorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, the heads of that Infurrection, and not troubling himfelf with *Pontfret-Castle*, which he thought would not be of great confequence, if the *Scots* were subdued.

Fairfax a-
gainft the
Kentish Men.

Fairfax, with a numerous part of the Army, remained in and about *London* to fuppreff the Infurrection in *Kent*, and watch any other which fhould fall out in the City or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehenfion than of all the power of *Scotland*. And fo when the Parliament was advertifed by their Troops which were firft fent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of *Norwich* was declared General of the *Kentish* Troops, and was marching in the head of them towards *Black-Heath*, *Fairfax* drew all his Army together, and his Cannon, and marched over *London-Bridge* to meet the Men of *Kent* at *Black-Heath*, and to flop their march to *London*. The Earl was now advanced fo far, and *Fairfax* advanced too faft to put the former Counfel in practice, of breaking down the Bridges, and keeping the Paffes, and they who had oppofed

that Counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The Country-men were weary of being all night in the Field, though it was the warmest Season of the Year, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanced, the *Kentish* Forces drew back; made several stands; but, being hard pressed, they divided, some retiring to *Rocheſter*, others to *Maidſtone*. Those at *Maidſtone* had a ſharp Encounter with the General's whole ſtrength, and fought very bravely, but were at laſt Deſeated. In the mean time the Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with the Party at *Rocheſter*, quitting that place, marched back towards *London*, in hope ſtill of the City's joining with them. But that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be ſoon in their Rear, the Earl and thoſe who remained, and deſigned to run the utmoſt hazard, reſolved to paſs themſelves and their Horſes by ſuch Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and down the River, over into *Effex*, where they knew they had many Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not viſit them in ſome days. So they made a ſhift to transport themſelves to the number of near a thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot; whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had ſerved the King, and young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families, who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of
Norwich, and
ſome Forces,
transport
themſelves
into Effex;
and fix in
Colcheſter.

B O O K
XI.

They found many Persons in *Essex* ready to join with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purposed to have passed over into *Kent* to have joined with, and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to Them. There was the brave Lord *Capel*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, all excellent Officers. There was Sir *Bernard Gascoign*, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To these joined Colonel *Farr*; who had served the Parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and had at that time the Command of *Languard-Point*, a Fort of importance upon the Sea; so that when they were all come together, with those who came from *Kent*, they made a Body of above three thousand Horse and Foot, with Officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good Army.

They well knew *Fairfax* would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in *Colchester*, a great and populous Town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an Assault; and resolved to expect a conjunction with other of their Friends; and were in great hopes that the *Scottish* Army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the Town, which was not glad of their company, into any

order, before *Fairfax* came upon them; who made no stay in *Kent*, after he heard what was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; but left two or three Troops of Horse to settle that County, with the assistance of their Committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now Victorious knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before *Colchester*, and saw it without any Fortifications, he thought presently to have entered the Town with his Army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of *Ireton*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the General as well as the Army, he resolved to encompass it with his Troops, and without hazarding the loss of Men to block them up, till Famine should reduce them; and disposed his Army accordingly; which quickly stopped up all Passages, by which either Men or Provisions should get into the Town; though by many brave Sallies from within, their Quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant Men were lost on both sides.

Fairfax besieges them.

The Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the Command of the Prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the Factions, and Divisions, which were amongst those who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their several humors, endeavoured to work upon the Seamen; a People capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince *Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late War, love the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not of

Factions in the Prince's Fleet.

B O O K a temper that cared to court him: and there was one,
XI. who had the greatest influence on Prince *Rupert*,
Herbert the Attorney-General, that of all Men living
was most disposed to make discord and disagreement
between Men; all his faculties being resolved into a
spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling
upon any thing that was proposed. He having no
title or pretence to interpose in Councils, and yet
there being no secret in the Debates there, found it
easy to infuse into Prince *Rupert*, who totally resigned
himself to his Advice, such Arguments as might dis-
turb any Resolution: and there were so many who
were angry that they were not admitted into the
Council, as the Lords *Piercy*, *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth*,
that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked
that was resolved there. They had all that admission
and countenance from the Prince, that they had as
much confidence to speak to, and before him, as any
where else. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that some-
what should be attempted upon the Coast, which
might have caused some Sea-Towns, and the parts
adjacent, to have declared for the King; which seemed
not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse.
But Action was a very grateful word to the Seamen,
and they who opposed any thing that tended toward
it, were looked upon with great jealousy and preju-
dice. But the Prince was obliged, as hath been said,
by his Instructions at *Paris*, not to engage himself in
any thing that might divert him from being ready at
the minute when the *Scots* should call for his pre-
sence; and they expected the first intimation of that
from *London*; from whence they had the assurance

already, that Duke *Hamilton* was entered into the Kingdom with an Army of above thirty thousand Men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far short of the number.

When the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea from *Helvoet-Sluice*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterdam*, and laden with Cloth by the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been so soon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks being Sealed up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; which, at their Entrance into the River of *Thames*, took many other Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all Vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East-India-Ship richly Laden, and the more welcome because the Ship itself was a very strong Ship, and would make an excellent Man of War, and the Captain thereof was a Seaman of Courage, and Experience, and was very well inclined to serve the King: and, without doubt, if all the Ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure Ports, the value of the Goods would have mounted to so great a Sum, as might have countervailed a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure Port, where that Treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his Royal Highness' proceedings. The City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imaginable, and that was so alarmed by the Fleet's being in the River, and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships, especially the Cloth-

It enters the
River of
Thames;
takes several
Ships.

B O O K
XI.

Ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the People: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament, for leave to send down some Agents to the Fleet to procure a release of that Ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a Commerce and Correspondence between the Fleet and the City, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most Men believed the Parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of Treasure inclosed in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant-Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the City, had more Money on board that Vessel than the Cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

Commissioners sent to the Prince from the City with a Petition.

Upon this liberty granted by the Parliament, a Committee was sent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of *Wales*, "that he would restore the Ship which belonged to his Father's good Subjects." With these Men came Letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's Service, and privy to the Treaty with the *Scots*, and whatever was intended by the Earl of *Holland*: The Countess of *Carlisle*, who was trusted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, trusted Mr. *Lowe*, who was employed by the City in this Negotiation, to say many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the City, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought

other Letters, and Testimonies to give him credit, as a Man trusted by all who intended to serve the King, who had with wonderful Address got him to be one of those employed by the City, that he might, under that security, give such Animadversions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was necessary. He was a Man intelligent enough of the spirit and humor of the City, and very conversant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian Party, as a Man entirely addicted to Them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the King's Party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a Man of so voluble a Tongue, and so everlasting a Talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober Man could be imposed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this Petition, the Prince wrote a long Letter to the City, and inclosed in it a Declaration, for the publishing of both which in Print care was taken, the substance of which was, "the great affection he bore to the City, and the prosperity thereof;" the whole being in such a Style as might best please the Presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the Zeal of the King's Party; and desiring "that they should join with him for the delivery of the King his Father out of Prison, and to make a good understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, which his Highness desired with all imaginable concernment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their Ship released without a good Sum of Money, which the Prince told them "was

The Prince
writes to the
City.

B O O K
XL.

“ absolutely necessary for the payment of the Sea-men, and he would receive it as a loan from them, “ and repay it when a Peace should be made.” So some of them returned to *London*, and the rest remained with the Fleet, coming and going for a Month, and driving many bargains for other Ships. By this means the Prince received Advertisement of the *Scots* continuing their march, and that those who were inclosed in *Colchester*, were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the Earl of *Holland* being ready to declare as soon as their pressures should require it. After near a Month’s negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that Cloth-Ship was delivered to the Merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides Cloth in the Body of it; for which there was not any Search suffered to be made.

Whilst the Prince lay in the *Downs*, there was an Enterprize necessary to be made on Shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for *Holland*, it had taken one or two of those Block-Houses, or Castles, which are nearest the *Downs*; and had left some Seamen in them, with sufficient Provisions to defend themselves till the Fleet should return. The Prince found these Block-Houses besieged, and received Intelligence out of them, that their Provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them, consisted more in Horse than Foot;

and at high Tide the Boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the Besiegers to rise: and the Seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the Service for the redemption of their Fellows; many Land-Officers being likewise on board, and some Foot-Soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the Seamen to undertake the business, but it had no good issue; the Tide was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their Landing and the Castle than they imagined, and the Horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the Men were killed, and more taken Prisoners, and the Rest forced to their Boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the Block-Houses at last came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those Forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good Fortune raised the Spirits of the Parliament-Party, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some Mortification.

By this time another Fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better Ships than had Revolted, and the Command thereof given to the Earl of *Warwick*; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tide was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropped Anchor.

The Parliament prepare a Fleet against the Revolted Fleet under Command of the Earl of *Warwick*.

B O O K
XI.

So that both Fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was not well Manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from Imagination or Intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth.

The Prince
writes to the
Earl of War-
wick. His
Answer.

The Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the Earl of *Holland*, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince should write to the Earl to summon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was sent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly returned with an Answer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, humbly besought his Highness "to put himself into the hands of the Parliament; " and that the Fleet with him might submit to their " Obedience; upon which they should be pardoned " for their Revolt."

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevailed with that Mr. *Crofts* might give the Earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endeavoured, but could not obtain. But *Crofts* returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them toge-

ther, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolved to attack them. All Anchors were weighed, and preparations made to advance to the Assault, the whole Fleet being under Sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the River was somewhat narrower. In an instant the Wind ceased, and there was a Calm; so that the Prince could not advance; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the River, as if some of his Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this deliberation the Wind rose again, but from another Quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face; and would not suffer him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the River. Hereupon were new consultations; great want of Provisions was discovered to be in the Fleet, insomuch as that they should not be able to stay at Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want sooner, and therefore since the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Wind stood, could not be compelled to Fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for Provisions, it was thought most Counselable to put to Sea; where they could more commodiously engage in a Battle, if the Earl of *Warwick* would advance; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the Prince might meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth* to join with the Earl, and which might easily be surprised or taken by the Prince's Fleet; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the Earl of *Lautherdale* arrived in a

B O O K
XI.

The Prince
went to Sea
towards Hol-
land, after
having at-
tempted to
Fight the Earl
of Warwick.

The Earl of
Warwick
follows him
towards Hol-
land.

Duke Ha-
milton enters
England about
the middle of
July.

The Duke's
march.

Ship from *Scotland*; and having left Duke *Hamilton* upon his march towards *Berwick*, he was sent to demand the performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that Army. This confirmed the Prince in the purpose of putting out to Sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the Fleet first into *Holland*, before it could transport him into the Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and continued their course for *Holland*, with hope still to meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth*. And meet with them they did in the Night; which the Prince knew not till the Morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to *Holland*, since by the conjunction with these Ships, besides all other Advantages, the Earl of *Warwick* was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his Ships; which appeared by his coming before *Helvoet-Sluice*, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of *July*, when Duke *Hamilton* entered into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carlisle*, and immediately took that Government from Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and drew out all the *English* Garrison, and put *Scots* in their place. And after some few days stay there, the *English* and *Scottish* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to that part of *Cumberland* where *Lambert* then Quartered: and if they had continued their March, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. But the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles short; and *Lambert*, in the same Night,

marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of *Yorkshire*. The Duke rested many days, that all his Forces might come up, which came slowly out of *Scotland*. As soon as they were come up, he marched to *Kendal*; where he rested again several days; the reason whereof no body could imagine. It was suspected it was that those Forces which were up in several parts of the Kingdom for the King, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to control or obstruct the Presbyterian design. For after that Army was entered into *England*, it moved, as hath been said, by such very slow Marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an Enemy, and it was Quartered at so great a distance, that the head-Quarter was very often twenty Miles distant from some part of the Army; the Duke himself performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and two or three other Officers.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* marched, with his Body of *English*, consisting of near four thousand Foot, and seven or eight hundred Horse, always a day before the Army; by which they intended to have timely Advertisement of the Enemies motion, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of *August*, when Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Advertised the Duke, by an Express, "that he had received unquestionable Intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three days march, and

Sir M. Langdale a day before him

B O O K
XI.

“ resolved to engage his Army as soon as possibly
“ he could, and that he would not be diverted from
“ it, by the People’s gathering together at any dis-
“ tance from him, in what posture soever;” and
therefore desired his Grace, “ that he would keep his
“ Army close together; for they could not be far
“ asunder with any security;” and declared; “ that
“ he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the
“ Enemy, and then retire back as he should find it
“ necessary.”

Sir M. Lang-
dale gives him
an Account of
the English
Army.

The Duke, notwithstanding this Advertisement, reformed not the Order of his March in any degree, but was persuaded “ that the Enemy could not be so
“ near; and that, if *Cromwell* was advanced to such
“ a distance, it was only with such a Party, as he
“ would not presume to engage with their whole
“ Army.” In this confidence, he marched as he had
done before. Sir *Marmaduke* sent him every day advice that confirmed the former, “ and that his Horse had
“ encountered some of the Enemy, and that their
“ whole Body was at hand; but that it was true, it
“ was not a Body equal in number to their Army,
“ yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to join Battle
“ with him.” All this gained not credit, till Sir *Marmaduke* himself, making his retreat with very sharp Skirmishes, in which many Men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head-Quarters of the Duke; whither he likewise brought with him some Prisoners, who averred, that the whole Body of the Army was within five or six Miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The Duke was confounded with the Intelligence,
and

and knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to Fight. In this Amazement, the Duke stayed himself with some Officers at *Preston*; and caused his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march towards *Wiggan*, a Town in *Lancashire*, where he should, as he thought, find some Regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* returned to his Troops, the Duke having promised to send him some Troops to assist, and that some Foot should be sent to keep a Lane, that would Flank his Men upon his retreat. Sir *Marmaduke* retired before the Enemy, and drew up his Troops into the Clofes near *Preston*. The Enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six hours with great Courage, and with very great loss to the Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; insomuch as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no Assistance, but concluded that it was not *Cromwell's* whole Army that assaulted him, but only some Party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* told me often afterwards, “ that he verily believed, if one thousand Foot had “ then been sent to him, he should have gained the “ day:” and *Cromwell* himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot Fight so desperately as They did.

The Scots continued their march over the Bridge, without taking care to secure the Lane, which he had

Sr. M. Langdale Fights, and is beaten;

B O O K

XI.

and Duke Ha
milton routed.

recommended to them; by which *Cromwell's* Horse came upon his Flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the Van. So that his excellent Body of Foot being broken, Sir *Marmaduke*, and such of his Horse as kept together, were driven into the Town; where the Duke remained yet with some Officers; who all retreated over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the *English* Forces were broken, the *Scots* were presently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the Duke had still a great part of his own Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wiggan*; thence, to *Warrington*; where *Baily* Capitulated, and delivered up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at last to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the *Scottish* Noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves Prisoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell's* Troops under *Lambert*, pressed so hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding their own Men. The Duke was scarce got into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by *Cromwell's* Horse under *Lambert*, that himself and all the principal Officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their Horses, made their escape) were taken Prisoners: the Duke neither behaving himself like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all excuses to those who took him.

The Duke
taken.

Thus his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated;

more killed out of contempt, than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken Prisoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colors; only some of their Horse, which had been Quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their Country of the ill success of their Arms. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the most part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horse that pursued them; whereof Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his Officers and Soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill Fortune to be discovered; and was so taken Prisoner, and sent to the Castle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the *English* Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated.

Sir M. Langdale taken.

It may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many misadventures; which detained them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. As soon as they heard that his Highness had put himself on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they embarked at *Dieppe*, in a *French* Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arrived, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince's, who informed them, "that the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the *Downs*, and that he had sent him with a Letter to the Marshal *Ranzaw*, who was Governor of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a Frigate of him;" which

B O O K
XI.

he had there, and had by some civil Message offered to lend to his Highness; and the Marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the Frigate should be ready the next day, and if they pleased to make use of it, should carry them to the Prince.

They looked upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be; and so, without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament-Ships; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the *Downs*, and so being Master at Sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that Frigate, and set Sail in the Evening from *Dunkirk*; presuming that they should, the next Morning, find themselves in the *Downs* with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven Frigates of *Ostend*. In short, they were taken Prisoners, and plundered of all they had (which amounted to a good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Ostend*, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days not without some hope, raised by the civility of the *Spanish* Governor, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish People, the Freebooters,

being subject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his Command at *Flushing*; whither they easily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the *Downs*, sent a Frigate for them to *Flushing*; where they embarked several times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds, sometimes into *Flushing*, sometimes to *Ramikins*; and so were compelled to go to *Middleborough*; and after a Month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they received Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had resolved to go, as soon as the Earl of *Lautherdale* arrived from *Scotland* in the Fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Scottish* Army; which was then entered into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Helvoet-Sluice*.

The Prince
comes to the
Hague.

The Prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge; his Royal Highness every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Princess lay, and where both his Royal Highness and the Duke of *York* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princess Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himself keeping his own Table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Persons, who frequently repaired thither.

B O O K
XI
Divisions
among the
Prince of
Wales' Court.

The Prince of *Wales*' Court was full of Faction, and Animosity against each other, so that the newcomers were not only very well received by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Counsellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now They were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Herbert* the Attorney-General came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Company." And within a very short time after, Prince *Rupert* himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the Fleet, in which most part of the Court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

The whole clamor was against the Lord *Colepper*, and Sir *Robert Long* the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloth-Ship, but to the release of very many other Ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much discourse of Money brought to both their Cabins by Mr. *Lowe*, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never

absolved from any thing of which any Man accused him ; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with , and had been released for little or no Money ; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty Counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it ; which still fell upon those two.

There was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the River , when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of *Wight*, where they might, in the consternation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the King ; *Carisbrooke* being near the Sea, a Castle not strong in itself, the Island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully Answered.

They were very angry with *Batten*, and would have it Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the River ; which, they said, they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the Prince ; and in this the clamor of the Seamen joined with them. But it was but clamor, for most dispassionate Men gave him a good Testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon

B O O K
XI.

him of passing by the Ships which came from *Portsmouth*, in the Night, was not so well Answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a Night-Engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Assistance, before they could have mastered them; there being two or three of the best Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his Cowardice, of which the Seamen, as well as the Courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and because he was a Man of a regular and orderly course of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hopton*. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Rupert*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Attorney-General upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular Virtue, and Fidelity, and his unquestionable Courage, and Industry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

This State the Court was in, when the two lately mentioned Counsellors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humors, and strong passions all Men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the Reputation they seemed to have with every Body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an Armed Man, that would disturb and distract all their Counsels. And there was, even at the instant in which they arrived at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertisement of that Defeat of the *Scottish* Army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his Father in the utmost despair.

The Rumor of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next day after the Prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his Highness appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he informed them of the Lord *Lautherdale's* Message to him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earnestly pressed him, ever since the News of the Defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their Army; and his Highness thought fit, that the Earl should give an Account of his Commission at the Board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be showed to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allowed him to sit upon.

He first read his Commission from the Parliament,

B O O K

XI.

The Letter of
the Parlia-
ment of
Scotland to
the Prince.

and then the Letter which the Parliament had writ
to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified
the great Affection of the Parliament, “that out of
“ their native, and constant Affection and Duty to
“ their King, and finding that, contrary to the Duty
“ of Subjects, his Majesty was imprisoned by the
“ Traiterous and Rebellious Army in *England*, they
“ had raised an Army in that Kingdom, that, since
“ their Advice, Counsel, and Entreaty in an ami-
“ cable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem
“ his Majesty’s Person from that captivity; which
“ they held themselves obliged by their solemn
“ League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with
“ the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this
“ Army was already entered into *England*, under the
“ Command of *James Duke Hamilton*, whom, in
“ respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his
“ Majesty, they had made General thereof; and
“ having now done all that was in their power to do
“ for the present, and having taken due care for the
“ seasonable supply and recruit of that Army, they
“ now sent to his Highness, that he would with all
“ possible speed, according to the promise which
“ the King his Father had made, transport his Royal
“ Person, that he might himself be in the head of
“ that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father;”
and they desired him, “that for the circumstances
“ of his Journey he would be advised by the Earl of
“ *Lautherdale*, to whom they had given full Instruc-
“ tions; and they besought his Highness to give
“ credit to him in all things.”

The Earl likewise showed his Instructions, by which none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly Men* should be suffered to be about the Person of his Highness; and particularly that neither Prince *Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor some other Persons should be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the Prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his Journey; and all this with as insolent, and supercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, "that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave their Advice to the Prince." He took this motion very ill, and said "he was a Privy-Counsellor to the King in *Scotland*, and being likewise a Commissioner from the Parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that concerned the Affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in so imperious, and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well since the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where they had often differed in matters of the highest

Deliberation
in the Prince's
Council
about it.

B O O K
XI.

importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustomed to. He told him, "he meant not to say any thing in that Debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and that he was ready to say, that, in His judgment, all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not that the Dignity of the Board should be prostituted to his Demand, nor that he should be present there at any Debate." The Earl replied, that he was sent by the Parliament, and Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he did protest against having any thing he proposed to be treated, and debated by, or before the *English* Board; nor did he consider what was, or should be said, by any Man but the Prince himself." The Prince told him, "it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the Council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that He should be present;" and thereupon Commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, "that there were some Persons come to the Town, the last night, who came out of *England* after the News of the Victory over the *Scots* came to *London*, with all the circumstances thereof; and of the Duke's being taken Prisoner;" and that the Prince of *Orange* had told him, "that the States had received Intelligence of it from their Ambassador *Newport*, who resided in *London*." Upon the whole matter, the Prince resolved, "to meet again the next Morning to consult farther

“ what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean
 “ time, the Intelligence would be more perfect, and
 “ unquestionable, and they should see whether *Lau-*
 “ *therdale* would take any notice of it.”

But the Night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next Morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey. He was asked, “ whether he
 “ had received no Information of some ill Fortune,
 “ that had befallen that Army, which might so change
 “ the case since he left *Scotland*, that what might
 “ Then have been fit, would be Now unfit and
 “ uncounselable?” The Earl said, “ he knew
 “ well what the News was from *England*; and,
 “ whatever he hoped, that he was not confident it
 “ was not true; however he hoped, that would not
 “ change the Prince’s purpose, but that it would more
 “ concern him to pursue the resolution he was for-
 “ merly obliged to: that if any misfortune had be-
 “ fallen that Army, the Prince had the more reason
 “ to endeavour to repair it; which could be done no
 “ other way, than by his making all possible haste
 “ into *Scotland*; which remained still a Kingdom en-
 “ tire, wholly devoted to his Service; and that, by
 “ the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw
 “ together another Army, towards which there was
 “ a good beginning already by the preservation of
 “ that Body under *Monroe*: that if his Highness
 “ should decline this only probable way to preserve
 “ himself, and to recover his other two Kingdoms,
 “ it would be thought he had little zeal for the
 “ Liberty of his Father, and as little for his own

BOOK
XI.

“ Interest, and for the preservation of the Crown;
 “ he therefore besought his Highness, that he would
 “ cause some of his Ships to be forthwith made ready,
 “ and would therein immediately Transport himself
 “ into *Scotland*; whereby the late wound would, in
 “ a short time, be healed; which would otherwise
 “ prove incurable.”

But *Scotland* was so well known, and the power of *Argyle* (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary Party) that his Proposition was by all dispassionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to: and the News from *London*, that *Cromwell* was marched into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirmed every honest Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of *Lautherdale* seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own Concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a Voyage; and after a few Weeks more stay at the *Hague*, upon the Intelligence from his Friends in *Scotland*, how affairs went there, he returned thither in the same Ship that Transported him from thence, with as much rage and malice against the Council about the Prince, as against *Cromwell* himself.

The Earl of
Lautherdale
returns into
Scotland.

The Defeat of the *Scottish* Army at *Preston*, though it was not at first believed to be an entire Victory over their whole Body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on Foot for raising Men, in those Northern Counties, for the King's Service, to have joined and

united under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate, who had served the King from the beginning of the War with good Courage, was then with a Body of *English*, with which he had Besieged the Castle of *Lancaster*, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when the News of *Preston* arrived. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that Major-General *Monroe*, who, shortly after the Duke, marched out of *Scotland*, followed him with a Recruit of above six thousand Horse and Foot, was come to the skirts of *Lancashire*, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* Men, who had been broken at *Preston*, and some others who had been newly Levied. Sir *Thomas Tildesley* moved *Monroe*, "that his Forces, and some Regiments of *Scots*, who yet remained about *Kendal*, might join with the *English* under his Command, and march together towards *Preston*, and follow *Cromwell* in the Rear, as He pursued the *Scots*:" which they might very well have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand Men; which was equal in number to the Army under *Cromwell*. But the Major-General would not consent to the Motion, but retired to the farther part of *Westmoreland*; and the *English* followed them in the Rear; presuming, that though they would not be persuaded to advance after *Cromwell*, yet that they would chuse some other more convenient Post to make a stand in, if the Enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but con-

Sir Thomas
Tildesley
retires to
Monroe.

B O O K
XI.

tinued still fast in his Sullen Resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through *Cumberland*, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before, having then raised vast Sums of Money upon the poor People, and now in his retreat plundered almost all they had left.

The *English* marched into the Bishopric of *Durham*, to join with such new Levies as were then raising there; and their Number being increased by the addition of those Troops which were under the Command of Sir *Henry Bellingham*, they met again Major-

Monroe having entered England upon Hamilton's Defeat retreats towards Scotland.

General *Monroe* in *Northumberland*, and desired him
“ that they might unite together against the Com-
“ mon Enemy, who equally desired the destruction of
“ them both. But he resolutely refused, and told
“ them plainly, that he would march directly into
“ *Scotland* and expect Orders there; which he did,
“ with all possible Expedition.”

Sir Philip Musgrave to Carlisle.

Sir *Philip Musgrave* believed that he and his Foot might be welcome to *Carlisle*; and went thither; and sent Sir *Henry Bellingham*, Sir *Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Charter*, to the Earl of *Lanrick*, and offered that they should carry their Troops into *Scotland* to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their Motion, saying, “ if he should, *Argyle* would from thence take
“ an excuse to invite *Cromwell*,” who they heard was then upon his march towards *Berwick*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: upon which Sir *Henry Bellingham* returned with the Party he Commanded into *Cumberland*,

Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of *Scotland* it was necessary for them to pass through. B O O K
XI.

Sir *Philip Musgrave* had no better success with Sir *William Levingston*, the Governor of *Carlisle*; for though he received him very Civilly, and entered into a Treaty with him (for he knew well enough that he was not able to Victual, or Defend the place without the assistance of the *English* and therefore desired the assistance of Sir *Philip* in both) yet when Articles were agreed upon, and signed by Sir *Philip Musgrave*, the Governor fell back, and refused to engage himself “not to deliver up the Garrison without the consent of Sir *Philip Musgrave*,” who was contented that none of his Men should come within the Walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the Field.

Within a short time after, Orders were sent out of *Scotland* for the delivery of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* to the Parliament; in which Orders there was not the least mention of making Conditions for the *English*. Sir *Philip Musgrave* had yet *Apleby-Castle* in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered *Carlisle* to Duke *Hamilton*, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made Conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty Officers, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, who lived again to venture, and some, to lose their Lives for the King: after which, he soon Transported himself into *Holland*. Berwick and
Carlisle deli-
vered to the
Parliament.

Cromwell resolved to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke

B O O K

XI.

Hamilton, by gathering up as many Prisoners, as he could, of the dispersed Troops he marched directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up the Roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from *Yorkshire* to reduce those at *Pontfret-Castle*; which grew very troublesome to all their Neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made Excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial Men Prisoners, and carried them to the Castle; where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great Ransoms. However, he would not defer his Northern March; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take Vengeance upon those Affronts, he satisfied himself in sending Colonel *Rainsborough*, with some Troops of Horse and Foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his Army, continued their march for *Scotland*; it being about the end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, before the Harvest of that Country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroyed.

Cromwell
marches into
Scotland.

It was generally believed, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited him to this Progress; for the Defeat of the *Scottish Army* in *England* had not yet enough made him Master of *Scotland*. There was still a Committee of Parliament sitting at *Edinburgh*, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of *Lanrick* swayed without a Rival; and the Troops which had been raised under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were still together, and at the Earl's devotion; so that the Marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he

did not invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the Kingdom. They made great shows of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no Act of Hostility committed; *Cromwell* declaring, “that he came with his Army to preserve the Godly Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it was under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Nation to break the Friendship with their Brethren of *England*, who had been so faithful to them: That it having pleased God to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavoured to engage the two Nations in each other’s Blood, he was come thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to remove those from Authority who had used their Power there so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to the Parliament of *England*; which did not desire in any degree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges.” He was Conducted to *Edinburgh* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, where he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quartered about, and supplied with all Provisions the Country could yield.

Is received at
Edinburgh.

The Earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction (that is all who had a mind to continue of it) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at *Edinburgh* were resolved to obey

B O O K
XII

The Committee of the Scottish Parliament order Monroe to Disband.

Argyle; who they saw could protect them. There were then enough left of the Committee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the Power of the *English*; which would have been a great discredit to their Government. Whilst he remained their Guest (whom they entertained magnificently) *Argyle* thought himself able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the Government upon the true foundation. So the Committee of Parliament sent to *Monroe* an Order and Command to Disband his Troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that *Cromwell* must be Arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the Orders of the Committee very punctually: so that there was no Power in *Scotland* that could oppose the Command of *Argyle*; the Committee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in Prison, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives against the Sinfulness of the late Engagement, and solemn Fasts enjoined by the Assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous Transgression; the Chancellor *Lowden* giving the good example, by making his Recantation and humble Submission with many Tears. *Cromwell* had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a Kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concerted all things with his bosom-Friend *Argyle* (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn at a distance from *Edinburgh*, that he and his Army might not be thought to have

an influence upon the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do) he returned for *England*; where he thought his Presence was like to be wanted.

B O O K

XI.

Cromwell
returns for
England.

The Committee of Parliament at *Edinburgh* (who had Authority to Convene the Parliament when the Major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their Summons to call the Parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same Passion and Zeal with which they had entered into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly; and the Assembly joining with them, they Excommunicated all who had the most eminent Parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, or of sitting in Council, or in Parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their Government. By these judgments, amongst others, the Earl of *Lanrick* was deprived of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferred upon the Earl of *Lothian*; who, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had been employed by the Conspirators into *France*, and coming afterwards into *England* was Imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the Rebellion highest, and showed the most implacable malice to the Person of the King. And by this time *Argyle* was become so much more Master of *Scotland* than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that

The Scottish
Parliament,
being called,
condemn
Duke Ha-
milton's
Engagement.

B O O K he had not so much as the shadow of a Parliament to
XI. contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great Talent of dissimulation, all Men doing as he enjoined them, without asking the reason of his direction.

To return to the State of the King's Affairs in *England*: when the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* with the *Kentish* and *Essex*-Troops were inclosed in *Colchester*, their Friends could not reasonably hope that the *Scottish* Army, which had so long deferred their March into *England*, contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve *Colchester* before they should be reduced by Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it necessary, since many who were in *Colchester*, had engaged themselves upon His promises and Authority, now to begin his Enterprize; to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was General of the Horse, the Lord *Francis Villiers* his Brother, and divers other young Noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his Interest and Party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into Arms for the relief of *Colchester*, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the Town. There was a great appearance every Morning, at his Lodging, of those Officers who were known to have served the King; his Commissions showed in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my Lord *Holland* go out?" and the Answer was, "such and such a day;" and the hour he did take Horse, when he was accompanied by a hundred Horse from his House, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

The Earl of
 Holland Rises;
 goes to King-
 ston.

His first Rendezvous was at *Kingston* upon *Thames*; where he stayed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common-Men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several Officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the Apprehension both the Parliament and the Army had of the Affections of the City to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at *Kingston*, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire Regiments of the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colchester*.

During the short stay he made at *Kingston*, some Officers and Soldiers, both of Horse and Foot, came thither, and many Persons of Honor and Quality, in their Coaches, came to visit Him and his Company from *London*; and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal Officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was *Dalbeer* a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in War; who had served the Parliament as Commissary-General of the Horse under the Earl of *Essex*, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented Officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army; which they despised for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus *Dalbeer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who thought himself likewise happy in such an Officer. The keeping good Guards, and sending out Parties towards the *Kentish* parts, where it was

B O O K
XI.

Is routed
there:

Escapes to St.
Neots, where
he is taken.

known some Troops remained since the last Commotion there, was committed to His care. But he discharged it so ill, or his Orders were so ill observed, that the second or third Morning after their coming to *Kingston*, some of the Parliament's Foot, with two or three Troops of Colonel *Rich's* Horse, fell upon a Party of the Earl's about *Nonfuch*; and beat, and pursued them into *Kingston*, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and most of the rest making too much haste out of Town, and never offering to Charge those Troops. In this confusion the Lord *Francis Villiers*, a youth of rare Beauty and comeliness of Person, endeavouring to make resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the Foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some Officers, until they found means to retire to their close Mansions in *London*. The Earl with near a hundred Horse (the rest wisely taking the way to *London*, where they were never inquired after) wandered without purpose, or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an Inn at *St. Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, by those few Horse who pursued him, being joined with some Troops of Colonel *Scroop's*; where the Earl delivered himself Prisoner to the Officer without resistance: yet at the same time *Dalbeer* and *Kenelm Digby*, the eldest Son of Sir *Kenelm*, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themselves, was not known; and the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped, and happily found a way into *London*; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being

Transported into *Holland*; where the Prince was; who received him with great grace and kindness. The Earl of *Holland* remained Prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliament he was sent to *Warwick-Castle*, where he was kept Prisoner with great strictness. BOOK
XI.

The total defeat of the *Scottish* Army lately mentioned succeeded this, and when those Noble Persons within *Colchester*, were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect it, being pressed with want of all kind of Victual, and having eaten near all their Horses. They sent therefore to *Fairfax*, to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reasonable conditions, but he refused to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common-Soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within, proposed "to make a brisk Sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could." But they had too few Horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that Enterprize. Then, "that they should open a Port, and every Man die with their Arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their Adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up Prisoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the public Hall of the Town; where they were locked up, and a strong Guard set upon them. They were required presently

Colchester delivered.

B O O K to send a list of all their Names to the General; which
 XI. they did; and, within a short time after, a Guard
 was sent to bring Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoign* to the General, being
 sat with his Council of War. They were carried in,
 and in a very short discourse told, “ that after so long
 “ and so obstinate a defence until they found it ne-
 “ cessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was
 “ necessary, for the example of others, and that the
 “ Peace of the Kingdom might be no more disturbed
 “ in that manner, that some Military justice should
 “ be executed; and therefore, that Council had de-
 “ termined they three should be presently shot to
 “ death;” for which they were advised to prepare
 themselves; and without considering, or hearing
 what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were
 led into a Yard there by; where they found three
 Files of Musqueteers ready for their despatch.

Sir *Bernard Gascoign* was a Gentleman of *Florence*;
 and had served the King in the War, and afterwards
 remained in *London* till the unhappy adventure of
Colchester, and then accompanied his Friends thither;
 and had only *English* enough to make himself under-
 stood, that he desired a Pen and Ink and Paper, that
 he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great Duke,
 that his Highness might know in what manner he lost
 his Life, to the end his Heirs might possess his Estate.
 The Officer that attended the execution thought fit
 to acquaint the General and Council, without which
 he durst not allow him Pen and Ink, which he thought
 he might reasonably demand: When they were in-
 formed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some

consideration; they had chosen him out of the List for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *English* Gentleman; and preferred him for being a Knight, that they might sacrifice three of that Rank. B O O K
XI.

This delay brought the News of this bloody resolution to the Prisoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord *Capel* prevailed with an Officer, or Soldier, of their Guard, to carry a Letter, signed by the chief Persons and Officers, and in the name of the rest, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him “either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same Sentence with Them.” The Letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the Officer to despatch his Order, reserving the *Italian* to the last. Sir *Charles Lucas* was their first work; who fell dead; upon which Sir *George Lisle* ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, “I’ll warrant you, Sir, We’ll hit you:” he Answered smiling, “Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have missed me.” Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking a word. Sir *Bernard Gascoign* had his doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the Officer told him “he had order to carry him back to his Friends;” which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had

Sir Ch. Lucas
and Sir George
Lisle shot
to death.

B O O K
XI.

considered, that if they should in this manner have taken the Life of a Foreigner, who seemed to be a Person of Quality, their Friends or Children who should visit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Generations; and therefore they commanded the Officer, “when the other two should be dead, to carry him “back again to the other Prisoners.”

Their Characters.

The two who were thus murdered, were Men of great name and esteem in the War; the one being held as good a Commander of Horse, and the other of Foot, as the Nation had; but of very different tempers and humors. *Lucas* was the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both to the Honor and Estate, and had a present Fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low-Countries under the Prince of *Orange*, and always amongst the Horse. He had little conversation in that Court, where great civility was practised, and learned. He was very brave in his Person, and in a day of Battle a gallant Man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a Nature scarce to be lived with, of no good understanding, of a rough and proud humor, and very morose conversation; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. *Lisle* was a Gentleman who had had the same Education with the other, and at the same time an Officer of Foot; had all the Courage of the other, and led his Men to a Battle with such an Alacrity, that no Man was ever better followed, his Soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of Courage he had the softest and most

gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy. B O O K
XI.

The manner of taking the Lives of these worthy Men was new, and without Example, and concluded by most Men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Ireton*, who swayed the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature. As soon as this bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Fairfax*, with the Chief-Officers, went to the Town-House to visit the Prisoners; and the General (who was an ill Orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said, “the Military justice required,” he told them, “that all the Lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct.” The Lord *Capel* had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, “that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigor to the rest;” upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between Him and *Ireton*, that cost him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windsor-Castle*; where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each other’s misfortunes; and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.

B O O K
XI.

The behaviour
of the City at
this time.

They Petition
for a personal
Treaty.

Though the City had undergone so many severe Mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous Engagements, at least all other People might have been terrified from depending again upon such Engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings; and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the Army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their Counsels. So that *Cromwell* had no sooner begun his March towards the North, and *Fairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common-Council delivered a Petition to the Parliament, “that they would entertain a Personal Treaty with the King, that the Kingdom might be restored again to a happy Peace; which could be hoped for no other way.” This was the first presumption that had been offered, since their Vote of no more Addresses to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made Sir *Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army adhered, or rather which adhered to the Army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion.

And therefore they appointed a Committee of the House of Commons, to meet with such a Committee of the Common-Council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the Treaty: which Committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplexed the other with many Questions, "what they meant by those Expressions, they used in their Petition" (and had been the Common Expressions, long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concerned a Treaty) "that his Majesty might treat with honor, freedom, and safety? what they intended by those words? and whether the City would be at the Charge in maintaining those Guards, which were to be kept for the security of the King during such Treaty; and if the King should in that Treaty refuse to give the Parliament satisfaction, how his Person should be disposed of?" and many such Questions, to which they well knew that the Committee itself could make no Answer, but that there must be another Common-Council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new Questions at every meeting; much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all the City's earnestness that the Treaty might be presently entered upon, it was delayed till the Insurrection in *Kent*, and the designs of the Earl of *Holland* (to both which they had promised another kind of Assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was still in the *Downs* with his Fleet, and the

BOOK

XI.

A Committee
of Parliament
treats with
them about it.

B O O K
XI.

The Parlia-
ment declares
for a personal
Treaty.

Gentlemen in *Colchester* defended themselves resolutely, and the *Scottish* Army was entered the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; insomuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter into a Personal Treaty with the King for the settling the Peace of the Kingdom; but that the Treaty should be in the Isle of *Wight*, where his Majesty should enjoy honor, freedom, and safety."

The City had offered before to the Committee upon some of the Questions which had been administered to them, "that if the Treaty might be in *London*, they would be at the Charge of maintaining those Guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the King;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the Treaty should be now in the Isle of *Wight*, upon which they could have no influence: yet they thought not fit to make any new Instances for change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede from their Vote, that there should be a Treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and in spite of all delays, in the beginning of *August* a Committee was sent from both Houses to the King to *Carisbrooke-Castle*, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

A Committee
of both Houses
sent to the
King for that
purpose in the
beginning of
August.

The substance
of their Mes-
sage to the
King.

The Message the Committee delivered was, "that the Houses did desire a Treaty with his Majesty, in what place of the Isle of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Propositions tendered to him at *Hampton-Court*,

“ Court, and such other Propositions, as they should
 “ cause to be presented to him ; and that his Majesty
 “ should enjoy honor, freedom, and safety to his
 “ Person.” The Messengers, who were one of the
 House of Peers and two Commoners, were to return
 within ten days, no body being very strict in the limi-
 tation of time to a day, because the Treaty was so
 much the longer kept off, which they hoped still
 would by some accident be prevented.

The King received them very graciously, and told
 them, “ they could not believe that any Man could
 “ desire a Peace more heartily than Himself, because
 “ no man suffered so much by the want of it : that,
 “ though he was without any Man to consult with,
 “ and without a Secretary to write what he should
 “ dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for
 “ an Answer ;” which he gave them within two or
 three days, all written in his own hand ; in which,
 after he had lamented his present condition, and the
 extreme restraint he was under, he said, “ he did
 “ very cheerfully embrace their motion, and accepted
 “ a treaty They promised should be with Honor,
 “ Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did real-
 “ ly intend should be performed; for that, in the con-
 “ dition he was in, he was so totally ignorant, and unin-
 “ formed of the present State of all his Dominions,
 “ that a blind Man was as fit to judge of Colors, as
 “ He was to treat concerning the Peace of the King-
 “ dom, except they would first revoke their Votes,
 “ and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited,
 “ and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the
 “ place, he could have wished, for the expedition

The King's
 Answer.

B O O K
XL.

“ that would have resulted from thence, that it might
 “ have been in or near *London*, to the end that the
 “ Parliament’s resolution and determination might
 “ have been sooner known upon any emergent occa-
 “ sion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it
 “ could be at such a distance: however, since they
 “ had resolved that it should be in the Isle of *Wight*,
 “ he would not except against it, but named the
 “ Town of *Newport* for the place of the Treaty.” He
 said, “ though he desired all expedition might be used
 “ towards the beginning and ending the Treaty, yet
 “ he should not think himself in any freedom to treat
 “ except, before the Treaty begun, all such Persons
 “ might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice
 “ and assistance he should stand in need of in the
 “ Treaty.” He sent a List of the Names of those his
 Servants which he desired might be admitted to come
 to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of
Richmond, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Sou-*
thampton, and *Lindsey*, were the chief; all four Gen-
 tlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy-Council.
 He named likewise all the other Servants, whose at-
 tendance he desired in their several Offices. He sent a
 List of the Names of several Bishops, and of such of his
 Chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many
 Common Lawyers, and some Civilians, whose advice
 he might have occasion to use, and desired, “ that he
 “ might be in the same State of freedom, as he enjoyed
 “ whilst he had been at *Hampton-Court*.”

By the time that the Commissioners returned from
 the Isle of *Wight*, and delivered this Answer to the
 Parliament, news was brought of the Defeat of the

Scottish Army, and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, "what a perpetual Ignominy it would be to the Parliament, that no body abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther Addresses to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution." But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first Motion and Petition from the Common-Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had opposed the Vote and Declaration of no more Addresses, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a Treaty, flocked again to the House, and advanced that Overture; so that they were much superior in Number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been proposed towards a Treaty. And the great Victory which had been obtained against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce *Colchester*, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the Parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that confusion they discerned was the purpose of the Army to bring upon the Kingdom: and so with the more Vigor they pressed that satisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he had proposed in his Answer; and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared, "that the Vote for no more Addresses should stand repealed: that the Treaty should be at *Newport*; and that his Majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he

The Vote of no more Addresses repealed; and the Treaty to be at *Newport*.

B O O K
XI.

“ was at *Hampton-Court* ; that the Instructions to
“ Colonel *Hammond*, by which the King had been in
“ that manner restrained , and all Persons forbid from
“ going to him, should be recalled ; that all those Per-
“ sons who were named by the King, should have free
“ liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him
“ without being questioned, or troubled.” And
having proceeded thus far, they nominated five
Lords, and ten Commoners to be the Commissioners
who should Treat with the King, and who were en-
joined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the
Treaty with all possible expedition ; but Sir *Harry*
Vane, being one of those Commissioners, used all his
Arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that *Cromwell*
would despatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to
return, and to use more effectual and powerful Argu-
ments against it, than He was furnished withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to
Cromwell, and were the motives which persuaded him
to believe, that his presence at the Parliament was so
necessary to suppress the Presbyterians, who ceased
not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be
prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of
difficulty that remained to be done, which was the
reducing *Pontfret-Castle* ; but left *Lambert* to make an
end of it, and to revenge the death of *Rainsborough*,
who had lost his Life by that Garrison, with some cir-
cumstances which deserve to be remembered ; as in
truth all that adventure in the taking, and defending
that place, should be preserved by a very particular
relation, for the honor of all the Persons who were
engaged in it.

When the first War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Persons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the Imprisonment of his Majesty in the Isle of *Wight*, those Officers and Gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any Service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several Counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the Insolence of those Neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their Conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had finished the War, they reduced and slighted most of the Inland-Garrisons, the Maintenance whereof was very Chargeable: yet by the Interest of some Person who Commanded it, or out of consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a Garrison in *Pontfret-Castle*, a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Jointure. The Situation in itself was very strong; no part whereof was Commanded by any other ground: the House very large, with all Offices suitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West-Riding of *Yorkshire*, and of *Lincolnshire*, and of *Nottinghamshire*, yet it was plentifully supplied with Water. Colonel *Cotterell*, the Governor of this Castle, exercised a very severe Jurisdiction over his Neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had served the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they lived quietly under the present Government. Upon the

B O O K
XI.

least Jealousy or Humor, these Men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes Imprisoned by the Governor in this Garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the *Scots* would raise an Army for the Relief and Release of the King, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had visited and conferred with some of his old Friends and Country-men, who now lived quietly within some distance of *Pontfret*, who informed him of that Garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the Assurance he had of the Resolution of the principal Persons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, “ that, when it should appear that an Army was raised “ in *Scotland* upon that account, which must draw “ down the Parliament’s Army into the other Nor- “ thern Counties, and that there should be Risings in “ other parts of the Kingdom” (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out) “ that then those Gen- “ tlemen should endeavour the surprise of that Castle, “ and after they had made themselves strong in it, and “ furnished it with Provisions to endure some re- “ straint, they should draw as good a Body to them as “ those Countries would yield:” and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with Sir *Marmaduke*, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governor of

the Castle lived towards them with less Jealousy, and more Humanity, than he had been accustomed to.

B O O K
XI.

There was one Colonel *Morrice*, who, being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Officer in some Regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engaged himself in the Parliament Army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his Courage, and pleasantness of his Humor, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the Command of a Colonel, and performed many notable Services for them, being a stout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greatest Danger; wherein he had usually Success. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his Life of great Licence kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and Censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new Army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent Courage, which they would find some occasion to Employ, and Reward. He was a Gentleman of a competent Estate in those parts in *Yorkshire*; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the King's Service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a Service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new General, but betook himself to his Estate; enjoyed his old Humor, which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the

B O O K
XI.

Parliament; who thought that they had dismissed done of the best Officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a Country-Gentleman, frequented the Fairs and Markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his Neighbours, of what Party soever they had been, and renewed the Friendship he had formerly held with some of those Gentlemen who had served the King. But no Friendship was so dear to him, as that of the Governor of *Pontfret*-Castle, who loved him above all Men, and delighted so much in his Company, that he got him to be with him some times a week and more at a time in the Castle, when they always lay together in one Bed. He declared to one of those Gentlemen, who were united together to make that Attempt, "that he would surprise that Castle, whenever they should think the Season ripe for it;" and that Gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his Companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that Charge upon himself, by a way they need not inquire into;" which he assured them should not fail: and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. *Morrice* was more frequently with the Governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him "he must have a great care of his Garrison, that he had none but faithful Men in the Castle; for that he was confident there were some Men who lived not far off,

“ and who many times came to visit him, had some
“ design upon the place;” and would then in confi-
dence name many Persons to him, some whereof were
those very Men with whom he communicated, and
others were Men of another Temper, and were most
devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends
and Companions; “ but that he should not be trou-
bled; for he had a false Brother amongst them,
“ from whom he was sure to have seasonable Adver-
“ tisement;” and promised him, “ that he would,
“ within few hours notice, bring him at any time
“ forty or fifty good Men into the Castle to reinforce
“ his Garrison, when there should be occasion;” and
he would show him the list of such Men, as would be
always ready, and would sometimes bring some of
those Men with him, and tell the Governor before
them, “ that those were in the list he had given him of
“ the honest fellows, who would stick to him when
“ there should be need;” and others would acciden-
tally tell the Governor, “ that they had listed them-
“ selves with Colonel *Morrice* to come to the Castle,
“ whenever he should call or send to them.” And all
these Men thus listed, were fellows very notorious
for the bitterness and malice which they had always
against the King, not one of which he ever intended
to make use of.

He made himself very familiar with all the Soldiers
in the Castle, and used to play and drink with them;
and when he lay there, would often rise in the Night,
and visit the Guards; and by that means would some-
times make the Governor dismiss, and discharge a
Soldier whom he did not like, under pretence “ that

B O O K
XI.

“ he found him always asleep,” or some other fault which was not to be examined ; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon ; and by this means he had very much power in the Garrison. The Governor received several Letters from his Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, “ that he should take care of Colonel “ *Morrice*, who resolved to betray him :” and informed him, “ that he had been in such and such Company “ of Men, who were generally esteemed most Malignant, and had great Intrigues with them ;” all which was well known to the Governor ; for the other was never in any of that Company, though with all the show of secrecy, in the Night, or in places remote from any House, but he always told the Governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings ; so that when these Letters came to him, he showed them still to the other ; and then both of them laughed at the Intelligence ; after which *Morrice* frequently called for his Horse, and went home to his House, telling his Friend “ that though he had, he “ knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him “ too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet “ he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight “ the information ; which would make his Friends “ the less careful of him : that they had reason to give “ him warning of those meetings, which, if he had “ not known himself, had been very worthy of his “ suspicion ; therefore he would forbear coming to “ the Castle again, till this jealousy of his Friends “ should be over ; who would know of this, and be “ satisfied with it :” and no power of the Governor

could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the Governor desiring his Counsel and Assistance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in Affairs of that nature, when many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the Fleet, and in *Kent*, and other places, and the daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been entering the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were engaged for this Enterprize, imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no Orders from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon They called upon the Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morrice*, for the Execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a Night, when the Surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in two places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sentinels who were privy to the attempt. *Morrice* was in the Castle, and in Bed with the Governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were Answered by one of the Sentinels from the Wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their Ladders. By some Accident, the other Sentinel who was designed, was not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Ladder was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and

B O O K XI. finding that there were Men under the Wall, run towards the Court of Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Garrison : so that, for that time, the design was disappointed. But, shortly after, *Morrice*, and some of the same Gentlemen surpris'd the Castle, under the disguise of Country-men coming in with Carts of Provision; and presently seiz'd on and master'd the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, Horse and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went to the Governor's Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, and told him " the " Castle was surpris'd, and himself a Prisoner." He betook himself to his Arms for his defence, but quickly found that his Friend had betrayed it, and the other Gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. *Morrice* afterwards comforted him with assurance " of good usage, and that he " would procure his pardon from the King for his " Rebellion. "

They put the Garrison in good order, and so many came to them from *Yorkshire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they could not in a short time be restrain'd, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of Provisions for their support, and to make and renew such Fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From *Nottingham* there came Sir *John Digby*, Sir *Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who had been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers who had been under their Command; many other Gentlemen of the three Counties were present, and deserve to have their Names recorded, since it was an Action throughout of great Courage and Conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of these Men after their first appearance, and only appointing some County-Troops to inclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those Troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and rendered themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the *Scottish* Defeat, those of *Yorkshire* sent very earnestly to *Cromwell*, "that he would make it the business of his Army to reduce *Pontfret.*" But he, resolving upon his *Scottish* Expedition, thought it enough to send *Rainsborough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Horse, and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; which, with a conjunction of the Country-Forces under the same Command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the Castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the Command of *Morrice*; who declared he would not accept the Charge, nor be Governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of Sir *John Digby*; who was Colonel-General of those parts, and was a Man rather cordial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which made him refer all things still to the Counsel, and conduct of those Officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute Persons.

The total defeat of the *Scottish* Army being now

Part of the
Garrisons

B O O K
XI.
attempt upon
Rainsborough.

generally known, and that their Friends in all other places were defeated, they in the Castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that *Rainsborough* was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some Troops to be Quartered near them, himself yet keeping his Head-Quarters at *Doncaster*, ten miles from the Castle. They resolved, whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* (whom they still called their General) after the overthrow of the *Scottish* Army, had been taken Prisoner, and remained in *Nottingham-Castle* under a most strict custody, as a Man the Parliament declared, "they would make an example of their justice." A Party of about twenty Horse, but picked and choice Men, went out of the Castle, in the beginning of the Night, with a Resolution to take *Rainsborough* Prisoner, and thereby to ransom their General. They were all good Guides, and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of *August* they put themselves into the Common-Road that led from *York*; by which ways the Guards expected no Enemy; and so slightly asked them "whence they came?" who negligently Answered; and asked again, "where their General was?" saying, "they had a Letter for him from *Cromwell*." They sent one to show them where the General was; which they knew well enough, and that he lay at the best Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn was

opened to them, three of them only entered into the Inn, the other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridge, over which they were to pass towards *Pontfret*; where they expected, and did find a Guard of Horse and Foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying "that they stayed for their Officer, who went only in to speak with the General; and called for some drink." The Guards making no question of their being Friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of News; and, it being broad day, some of the Horse alighted, and the Foot went to the Court of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. They who went into the Inn, where no body was awake but the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Chamber the General (for so all the Soldiers called *Rainsborough*) lay; and the Fellow showing them from below the Chamber-door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the Horses, and talked with the Soldier who had walked with them from the Guard. The two who went up, opened the Chamber-door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short "that he was their Prisoner, and that it was in his power to chuse whether he would be presently killed" (for which work he saw they were very well prepared) "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his Clothes and be mounted upon a Horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to *Pontfret*." The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon

B O O K
XI.

them. and made the haste that was necessary to put on his Clothes. One of them took his Sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the Horses, had sent the Soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else, that could be made ready in the House, against they came. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expected to find full of Horse, and saw only one Man, who held the others Horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their Swords; and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Horses, and rode towards their Fellows, before any in the Inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the Bridge saw their Companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the Guard, and made them fly in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the Expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their Garrison; leaving the Town, and Soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an Enemy they had not seen. The Gallant
Party

Party came safe home without the least damage to Horse or Man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might redeem Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. There was not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not as willingly have lost as this Man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be intrusted in the most desperate Interest, and was the Man whom that Party always intended to commit the Maritime Affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in that Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the Summer.

And now to finish this business of *Pontfret* altogether, which lasted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* came to this Charge (instructed by *Cromwell* to take full Vengeance for the loss of *Rainsborough*, to whose Ghost he designed an ample Sacrifice) and kept what Body of Men he thought fit for that purpose. he reduced them in a short time within their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Castle, that they might at last yield to Hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent Sallies, in which many of the Besiegers, as well as the others, lost their Lives. They discovered many of the Country who held correspondence with, and gave Intelligence to the Castle. whom they apprehended, whereof there were two Divines, and some Women of Note, Friends and Allies to the besieged. After frequent Mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief, they were content to offer to Treat

B O O K for the Delivery of the Castle, if they might have
XI. honorable Conditions ; if not, they sent word “ that
“ they had Provisions yet for a good time ; that they
“ durst die, and would sell their Lives at as dear a
“ price as they could. *Lambert* Answered, that he
“ knew they were gallant Men, and that he desired
“ to preserve as many of them, as was in his power
“ to do, but he must require six of them to be given
“ up to him, whose Lives he could not save ; which
“ he was sorry for, since they were brave men ; but
“ his hands were bound. ” The six excepted by him
were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more whose Names
he found to have been amongst those who were in the
Party that had destroyed *Rainsborough* ; which was
an Enterprize no brave Enemy would have revenged
in that manner : nor did *Lambert* desire it, but *Crom-*
well had enjoined it him : all the rest he “ was con-
“ tent to release, that they might return to their
“ Houses, and apply themselves to the Parliament
“ for their Compositions, towards which he would
“ do them all the good Offices he could. They from
“ within acknowledged his Civility in that parti-
“ cular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they
“ would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to de-
“ liver up any of their Companions ; ” and therefore
they desired “ they might have six days allowed
“ them, that those six might do the best they could
“ to deliver themselves, in which it should be lawful
“ for the rest to assist them ; ” to which *Lambert* ge-
nerously consented, “ so that the rest would Surren-
“ der at the end of that time ; ” which was agreed to.
Upon the first day the Garrison appeared twice or

thrice, as if they were resolved to make a Sally, but retired every time without Charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Post, with the loss of Men on both sides; and though the Party of the Castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof *Morrice* was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shows of joy, and sent *Lambert* word, “that their
“ six Friends were gone (though there were two
“ still remaining) and therefore they would be ready
“ the next day to Surrender.”

The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous Assistance from their Friends, who had lost some of their own Lives in the two former Sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the Castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste Stones from some Walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two Friends in such a manner that they had Air to sustain them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, in which they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their Ports, and after *Lambert* had caused a strict inquisition to be made for those six,

B O O K
XI.

Pontfret
delivered up
to Lambert.

B O O K none of which he did believe had in truth escaped,
XI. and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very Civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six Gallant-Men (as he called them) were escaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken Spirits, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had made an escape out of the Castle of *Nottingham*; who shortly after Transported himself beyond the Seas. *Lambert* presently took care so to dismantle the Castle, that there should be no more use of it for a Garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; so that, within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were left walled up, threw down their inclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir *John Digby* lived many years after the King's Return, and was often with his Majesty. Poor *Morrice* was afterwards taken in *Lancashire*, and happened to be put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the King and where he first performed a great Service to the Parliament.

The Condition
 of the Prince
 and the Duke
 of York at the
 Hague, and
 the Faction
 among their
 Followers.

In this desperate Condition, that is before described stood the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*, his Fleet already mutinying for Pay, his own Family factious and in necessity, and that of his Brother the Duke of *York* full of Intrigues, and Designs, between the restless unquiet Spirit of *Bamfield*, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humor of Sir *John Berkeley*. The Council, which was not numerous (for the Prince had not Authority to add any to those

who were his Father's Counsellors) wanted not Unity in itself, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the Fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most Men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great Animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper* infinitely disturbed the Counsels, and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* had some Passions and Infirmities, which no Friends could restrain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to *Colepepper* was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by *Herbert* the Attorney-General, who had the absolute Ascendant over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in Council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the Council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord-Treasurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one House) about giving direction for the sale of some Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raising of Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In such services Merchants, and other proper Persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince *Rupert* proposed "that
" one Sir *Robert Walsh* (a Person too well known to
" be trusted) might be employed in that Affair:" it

BOOK

XI.

was to sell a Ship of Sugar. No Man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the Lord *Colepepper* spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince *Rupert*, who had proposed him. Upon which, He asking "what exceptions there were to Sir *Robert Walshe*, why he might not be fit for it," *Colepepper* Answered with some quickness, "that he was a known cheat;" which, though notoriously true, the Prince seemed to take very ill; and said, "he was his Friend, and a Gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had benn said, he knew not how the Lord *Colepepper* could avoid Fighting with him." *Colepepper*, whose Courage no Man doubted, presently replied, "that he would not Fight with *Walshe*, but he would Fight with his Highness;" to which the Prince Answered very quietly, "that it was well;" and the Council rose in great perplexity.

Prince *Rupert* went out of the House, and the Chancellor led the Lord *Colepepper* into the Garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the Prince, and to ask his Pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seemed to think only of making good what he had so imprudently said, Prince *Rupert* quickly informed his Confident the Attorney-General of all that had passed; who was the unfittest Man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of Oil

to throw upon such Fire. He soon found means to B O O K
make it known to the Prince, who presently sent for XI.
the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be informed of the
whole matter; and when he understood it, was ex-
ceedingly troubled, and required him "to let *Colepepper*
" know, that he ought to make a submission to Prince
" *Rupert*; without which worse would fall out.

He went first to Prince *Rupert*, that he might pacify
him till he could convince the other of his fault; and
he so far prevailed with his Highness, who would
have been more Choleric if he had had less Right of
his side, that he was willing to receive a submission;
and promised "that the other should receive no
" affront in the mean time." But he found more diffi-
culty on the other side, the Lord *Colepepper*, conti-
nuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so
great, that he ought to be excused for the Reply, and
that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well
as He the other. But after some days recollection,
finding no Body with whom he conversed of his
mind, and understanding, how much the Prince was
displeased, and that he expected he should ask Prince
Rupert Pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place
he was in, where he could expect no security from
his Quality and Function, he resolved to do what he
ought to have done at first; and so he went with the
Chancellor to Prince *Rupert's* Lodging; where he
behaved himself very well; and the Prince received
him with all the Grace could be expected; so that so
ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the
nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come,
the Attorney - General had done all he could to dis-

BOOK
XI.

diffuade that Prince from accepting so small, and so private a satisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed Sir *Robert Walsh*, who had been informed of all that had passed at the Council concerning himself, to take his own revenge; in which many Men thought, that he was assured Prince *Rupert* would not be offended. And the next Morning after his Highness had received satisfaction, as the Lord *Colepepper* was walking to the Council without a Sword, *Walsh*, coming to him, seemed quietly to expostulate with him, for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other Answered, "that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require; though he ought not to be called in question for any thing he had said in that place." On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, *Walsh* struck him with all his force one blow in the Face with his Fist; and then stepped back, and drew his Sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord *Colepepper*, with his Nose and Face all bloody, went back to his Chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the Clock in the Morning in the sight of the Town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand Justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused *Walsh* to be Summoned, and after so many days, for want of Appearance, he was by the sound of a Bell publicly banished from the *Hague*; and so he made his residence in *Amsterdam*, or what other place he pleased.

And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so Ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself, as well as his Council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The improvidence that had been used in the Fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great Prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither Money to pay the Seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new-Victual the Ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the Station where they were for the present, and the extreme licence which all Men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all Counsels, and made Conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that Licence; every Man believing that his particular necessities, with which all Men abounded, might easily have been relieved, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called Treachery and Corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a Treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several Ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the Fleet, and supply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed, and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good Markets. And no body was satisfied with the Reasons which

The ill condition of the Prince's Fleet in Holland.

B O O K
XI.

were given for the discharging, and dismissing so many Ships to gratify the City of *London*, and the Presbyterian Party throughout the Kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those Bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that People; whose Affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their Trade, and the seizing upon their Estates, being, at that time, thought by many the most proper Application to the City of *London*, and the best Arguments to make them in love with Peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the Fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the King (as *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire* did) if it had not been possible to have set the King at liberty in the *Isle Wight*, or to have relieved *Colchester*, (both which many Men believed, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honorably than it did.

But let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possessed of the purpose, and the power of the *Scots* to do the King's business,

before the Insurrections in the several parts in *England*, and the revolt of the Fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon *Scotland*, as the sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the Fleet's returning to their Allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to Transport the Prince with security thither. And her Instructions to those she trusted about the Prince, were so positive, "that they should not give consent" to any thing that might divert or delay that Expedition," that, if the Earl of *Lautherdale* had been arrived when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have Transported the Prince into *Scotland*, what other conveniencies soever, preferable to that, had offered themselves. And the very next day after that Lord's coming to the Prince in the *Downs*, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Seamen prevented it. His Highness' own Ship was under Sail for *Holland*, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other Voyage: nor would he at that time have taken *Holland* in his way, if there had been any quantity of Provision in the Fleet for such a Peregrination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the more grievous to all Men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his Mother.

B O O K

XI.

The Earl of
Warwick
with his Fleet
comes upon
the Coast of
Holland.

The present ill condition of the Fleet, and the unsteady humor of the Common-Seamen was the more notorious, and unseasonable, by the Earl of *Warwick's* coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coast of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Seamen were on Shore, if the States had not, in the very Instant, sent some of their Ships of War to preserve the Peace in Their Port. However, according to the insolence of his Masters, and of most of those employed by them, the Earl sent a Summons of a strange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, " that a Fleet of Ships, " which were part of the Navy Royal of the Kindom " of *England*, was then riding at Anchor off *Helvoet-Sluice*, and bearing a Standard: That he did therefore by the Parliament's Authority, by which he " was constituted Lord High-Admiral of *England*, require the Admiral or Commander in chief of that " Fleet, to take down the Standard; and the Captains, " and Mariners belonging to the Ships, to render " themselves and the Ships to him, as High-Admiral " of *England*, and for the use of the King and Parliament: And he did, by the like Authority, " offer an indemnity to all those who should submit " to him."

After which Summons, though received by the Lord *Willoughby*, who remained on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no

impression upon the Officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the Common-Men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in so near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Insinuations, and by sending many of his Seamen on Shore at *Helvoet-Sluice* (where they entered into conversation with their old Companions) so to work upon and corrupt many of the Seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; some whereof went on Board his Ships, others stayed to do more mischief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Season of the Year, and the Winds which usually rage on that Coast in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Downs* to attend new Orders.

B O O K
XI.

All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the Prince; who, after some days indisposition, appeared to have the small Pox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life: And therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a Month, was restored to so perfect Health, that he was able to take an account himself of his Melancholic and perplexed Affairs.

The Prince of
Wales has
the small Pox.

There were two points which were chiefly to be considered, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation, and resolution; the first; how to make provision to pay,

B O O K
XI.

and victual the Fleet, and to compose the mutinous Spirits of the Seamen; who paid no reverence to their Officers, infomuch as, in the short stay which the Earl of *Warwick* had made before *Helvoet-Sluice*, as hath been said, many of the Seamen had gone over to him, and the *Constant Warwick*, a Frigate of the best Account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into *England*. The other was, what he should do with the Fleet, when it was both payed and victualled.

Towards the first, there were some Ships brought in with the Fleet, laden with several Merchandize of value, that, if they could be sold to the true worth, would amount to a Sum sufficient to pay the Seamen their Wages, and to put in Provisions enough to serve four Months; and there were many Merchants from *London*, who were desirous to buy their own Goods, which had been taken from them; and others had Commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other Market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good Pennyworths. And there were many Debts claimed, which the Prince had promised, whilst he was in the River, should be paid out of the first Money that should be raised upon the Sale of such and such Ships: particularly, the Prince believed that the Countess of *Carlisle*, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, and pawned her Necklace of Pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying

Officers, and making other Provisions for the expedition of the Earl of *Holland* (which Sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promised the Lord *Piercy* her Brother, who was a very importunate Solicitor) should be paid upon the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships: so that when Money was to be raised upon the Sale of Merchandize, they who had such Engagements, would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with Purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed, out of the first Monies that should be raised. By this means, double the value was delivered, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worse than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertised the Prince, that some Questions had been started in the States, “ what they should do, “ if the Parliament of *England* ” (which had now a very dreadful name) “ should send over to them to “ demand the restitution of those Merchants Goods, “ which had been unjustly taken in the *Downs*, and “ in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into “ their Ports, and were offered to Sale there, against “ the obligation of that Amity which had been observed between the two Nations, during the late “ War? what Answer they should be able to make, “ or how they could refuse to permit the owners of “ those Goods to make their Arrests, and to sue in “ their Admiralty for the same? which first process “ would stop the present Sale of whatever others

B O O K
XI.

“ pretended a Title to, till the right should be determined.” The Prince of *Orange* said, “ that such Questions used not to be started there without design;” and therefore advised the Prince “ to lose no time in making complete Sales of all that was to be sold; to the end that they who were engaged in the Purchase, might likewise be engaged in the defence of it.” Upon this Ground, as well as the others which have been mentioned, hasty Bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good Gainers by all the Bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more Authority than they had. Mr. *Long*, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been possessed of the Office of receiving and paying all Monies, whilst the Prince was in the Fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into *Holland*: though he was thought to love Money too well, yet no body who loved it less, would at that time have submitted to the employment, which exposed him to the importunity and insolence of all necessitous Persons, when he could satisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice, and disadvantage.

As soon as the Money was raised, it was sent to the Fleet to pay the Seamen; and the Prince made a Journey to the Fleet to see, and keep up the Spirits of the Seamen, who were very mutinous, not without the insulations of some who did not desire they should be too well pleased with their Officers. The Lord *Willoughby* staid on board purely out of Duty to the King,

King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the People over whom he was to Command, who had yet more respect for Him than for any Body else. Sir *William Batten* likewise remained with them, not knowing well how to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his Province, the Seamen having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his Peace, and to live in his own Country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; against whom he never after took employment.

The other point to be resolved was yet more difficult, "what should be done with the Fleet, and who should Command it?" and though the Advertisement the Prince of *Orange* had given his Royal Highness, of the Question started in the States, concerned only the Merchant-Ships, which were made prize, yet it was very easy to discern the Logic of that Question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the Royal Navy, as to Merchant-Ships. And it was evident enough, that the united Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the Ships of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houses, which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the Ports of those Provinces, and that the States wished it exceedingly.

Whilst *Bamfield* was about the Person of the Duke

B O O K
XI.

of *York*, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possessed of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his Father's Service, that he should be embarked in it: and *Ramfield*, by an especial Command from the King, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffered to come any more near the Person of the Duke. So he returned into *England*; where he was never called in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the Seamen, "that he should go to *Helvoet-Sluice*," to appear amongst them, who professed great duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some Servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the Council had inclined the Prince to that designation, out of ill will to his Highness, and that the Ships might deliver him up to the Parliament." So unpleasant, and uncomfortable a Province had those Persons, who, being of the King's Council, served both with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and no body was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honor of the rest, and most reflected upon the King's own Honor, and Service.

Prince *Rupert* had a long desire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that desire,

though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many Intrigues, either to inflame the Seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and increase the prejudice they had to *Batten*. The Attorney mentioned this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, shortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Person the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it should set Sail from that Port, and whither it should go. The Chancellor made no other Answer to him, than "that it was like to be a charge
 " of much danger and hazard; that he must not be-
 " lieve that any body would propose the under-
 " taking it to Prince *Rupert*, or that the Prince would
 " command him to undertake it; and that he thought
 " it necessary, that it should be first resolved, what
 " the Fleet should do, and whither it should go,
 " before a Commander should be appointed over it."

When the Marquis of *Ormond* had waited so many Months at *Paris* for the Performance of those gaudy promises which the Cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the Prince of *Wales* himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the Fleet, upon so powerful Insurrections in *England*, and possessing so many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* seemed so united for his Majesty's Service, and an Army of

The Affairs of
 the Marquis of
 Ormond and
 the Lord
 Inchiquin in
 Ireland.

B O O K
XI.

thirty thousand Men were said to be even ready to march; I say, after he discerned that the Cardinal was so far from giving any countenance, or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them, but the imprisoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither Men, nor Money, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own Person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the Cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the Lord *Inchiquin*, "that he would be
" present with him with notable supply of Money,
" Arms, and Ammunition, and good Officers, and
" some common Men" (which were all in readiness, if the Money had been paid to entertain them) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly served the King, and lived now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upon the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that they should
" expect his speedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, sent Advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the *French-Court*, so that he did almost despair of any Assistance from it, yet the Lord *Inchiquin* had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord *Lisle*, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into *England* with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) as would put *Cromwell* and the Army

into such fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp War to maintain against the *Irish*, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuntio; which War had been always carried on in *Munster* with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against Priests, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those People would live well together. And indeed the *Irish* were near-rooted out of the Province of *Munster*, though they were powerful enough, and strong in all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, with all possible earnestness, writ to the Lord *Ormond*, "that, though without any other assistance, he would transport his own Person:" by whose countenance and authority he presumed the *Irish* might be divided, and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time, to send to such of the *Irish* as had dependance upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the Nuntio, that they would secretly correspond with Him, and dispose their Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advance the King's Service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appeared to be to their Religion, more than to their Persons."

From the time that the *Irish* entered into that bloody, and foolish Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Intentions, and Designs, which were

B O O K
XL.

An Account of
the Affairs of
the Irish about
this time

B O O K every day improved in the carrying on the War.
XI.

That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of *English* Extraction, since the first Plantation by the *English* many Ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish Religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the Crown, and performed the duty of good Subjects during all those Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was seldom without. And of that temper most of the Province of *Leinster* was: *Munster* was the most planted with *English* of all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province who were of the oldest *Irish* extractions, and of those Families which had been Kings of *Munster*, yet many of them had intermarried with the best *English* Families, and so were better bred, and more civilized than the rest of the old *Irish*, and lived regularly in obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

The Seat of the old *Irish*, who retained the Rites, Customs, Manners, and Ignorance of their Ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumstances of great Rigor. Here the Rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid Barbarity, by

the *O Neils*, the *Macguyres* and the *Macmahoons*; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other Provinces (many Persons of Honor and Quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounced the War against all *Irish* equally if not against all Roman-Catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the Orders and directions sent to them out of *England*, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices, and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their Service, they concluded, that the *English Irish* were as much in the Jealousy of the State as the other, and resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable Courses as the rest had done) yet I say, they were no sooner entered into the War, which was so generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate Party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themselves under the Command of General *Preston*: the other, of the fiercer and more savage Party, and who never meant to return to their Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and looked upon all the Estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their Ancestors, though forfeited by their Treason and Rebellion, as justly due to them, and

B O O K ravished from them by the Tyranny of the Crown,
XI. marched under the conduct of *Owen Roe O Neile*; both
 The Characters of Preston and *O Neile* their chief Generals. Generals of the *Irish* Nation; the one descended of *English* extraction through many descents; the other purely *Irish*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bred in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both eminent Commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other: the one of the more frank and open Nature; the other darker, less polite and the wiser Man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the Field against either of them.

This disparity in the Temper and Humor of those People, first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a Peace shortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Cessation that was first entered into, and the Peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman-Catholic Religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the King's Dominions.

Owen Roe O Neile refused to submit to the Conditions and Articles of that Peace, though transacted and confirmed by their Catholic Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Representative the *Irish* Nation had chosen for the conduct of all the Counsels for Peace and War, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope's Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Transported himself into that Kingdom, applied himself to *Owen O Neile*, and took that Party into his Protection; and so wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he

broke that Peace, and prosecuted those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which necessitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and to leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; the Lord *Inchiquin* having likewise refused to consent, and submit to that Peace, and continued to make the War sharply and successfully against the *Irish* in the Province of *Munster*; whereof he was President. But the Nuntio was no sooner invested in the Supreme Command of that Nation both by Sea and Land, as over a People, subject to the Pope, and of a Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a fantastical Humor, and of an imperious and proud Nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all) and having brought no Assistance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himself) that even the Men of *Ulster* were weary of him; and they, who had been the Instruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment those jealousies, and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at *St. Germain's*, and the Resolution of sending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Muskerry* (who had Married his Sister, and was the most powerful Person, and of the greatest Interest in *Munster* of all the *Irish*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold such

B O O K
XI.

The Pope's
Nuntio Com-
mands the
Irish.

B O O K
XI.

The Marquis
of Ormond
arrives at Kin-
sale, and the
Pope's Nuntio
leaves Ireland.

intercourse with him, that before the Marquis of *Ormond* arrived there, against all the opposition the Nuntio could make, a Cessation of Arms was concluded between the Confederate Catholics and the Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio, was driven into *Waterford*; and upon the matter, Besieged there by the Catholic *Irish*; and the Marquis arriving at the same time at *Kinsale*, and being received by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorne and contemned Nuntio found it necessary to Transport himself into *Italy*, leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication, and Interdict, as an Apostate Nation; and all the Province of *Munster* (in which there are many excellent Ports) came immediately and entirely under the King's Obedience. All which being well known to the Prince, and the Council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place, "the Fleet could repair too;" though the danger in Conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that advance towards the Command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the Answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Attorney *Herbert*.

There was in truth no Body in view to whom the Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince *Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willoughby*, besides his being without much Experience of the Sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the Seamen were too much broke loose from all kind of Order, to be reduced by a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true,

that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in *England*, having the misfortune not to be much beloved by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet must be carried, but *Munster*; and the passage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the Parliament was without question Master of the Sea (although the Island of *Scilly* being then under the King's Authority, and Sir *John Grenvil* being the Governor thereof, made that passage something the more secure) therefore this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the Seamen would rather carry all the Ships back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; against which People they had made a War at Sea with circumstances very barbarous; for they had seldom given any Quarter, but the *Irish*, as well Merchants and Passengers, as Mariners, which fell into their Hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a Country whose People had been handled so cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection against the Person of Prince *Rupert*, who would never endure to be subject to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the Ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in Rebellion: Besides that there was cause to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Amity towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was neces-

B O O K salary for the Public Service. Notwithstanding all this,
XI. when the little Stratagem of having Prince *Rupert* desired to take the Command of the Fleet upon him did not succeed, Prince *Rupert* himself made the Proposition to the Prince to take the Command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highness would be pleased to direct. And then the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be Counselable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolved that Prince *Rupert* should be Admiral of that Fleet, and that it should Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge, and Expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in the Royal Navy: Sir *Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince made Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; Sir *John Mennes*, who had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he had been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was made Captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Experience in the Service at Sea, and well known and loved by the Seamen. With these Officers, and some other Gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that Service, Prince *Rupert* went to *Helvoet-Sluice*, where the Ships lay, and seemed to be received by the Fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the Ships ready for Sea, and all those Provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict Survey of the Ships, the

Prince Rupert
 undertakes the
 Command of
 the Prince's
 Fleet.

Carpenters were all of opinion, “that the *Convertine*,
 “ a Ship of the second Rank, that carried seventy
 “ Guns, was too old and decayed to be now set out
 “ in a Winter-Voyage, and in so rough Seas, and that
 “ when a great deal of Money should be laid out to
 “ mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe.”

And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy
 had fitted her out at the beginning of the Summer,
 they had declared, “that, when she came in again,
 “ she would not be fit for more use, but must be layed
 “ upon the Stocks.” Whereupon the Ship was
 brought into *Helvoet-Sluice*, upon the next Spring-
 Tide, and examined by the best *Dutch* Carpenters
 and Surveyors; and all being of the same mind, in-
 formation was sent by Prince *Rupert* to the Prince of
 the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the
 Sale of the Ordnance, and whatsoever else would
 yield Money: all which was applied to the Victual-
 ling, and setting out the rest without which no means
 could have been found to have done it; so much ill
 husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheat-
 ing in the managing all the Money that had been
 raised upon the Prizes.

Prince *Rupert* remained all the time at *Helvoet-
 Sluice*, till all was ready to set Sail, and had, with no-
 table Vigor and Success, suppressed two or three Mu-
 tinies, in one of which he had been compelled to
 throw two or three Seamen over board by the
 strength of his own Arms. All subordinate Officers
 were appointed, Commissioners for the Sale of all
 Prize-Goods, and Ships that should be taken, Trea-
 surers and Pay-masters for issuing and paying and re-
 ceiving all Monies; and an establishment for the

B O O K
XI.

Sets Sail for
Ireland in
December.

whole too regular and strict to be observed: and though all Persons employed were well known, and approved by Prince *Rupert*, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that Constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and issues under his own Management, and sole Government. When all was ready he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and returned, and about the beginning of *December* he set Sail for *Ireland*, met with good Prizes in the way, and arrived safely at *Kinsale*: nor had he been long gone out of *Holland*, when the Prince had a shrewd Evidence how unsecure a long abode would have been there, by some Parliament-Ships coming into that Road, and sending their Men on Shore, who at noon-day burnt the *Convertine* within the very Town of *Helvoet-Sluice*, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the Affront offered to themselves, and their Government.

The Commis-
sioners arrive
in the Isle of
Wight,
Sept. 15.

In this calamitous State of Affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those Roots left in the Crown, from whence its former Power, and Prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish. The Commissioners for the Treaty arrived in the Isle of *Wight* upon the fifteenth day of *September*, whilst *Cromwell* yet remained in his Northern Progress, and his Army divided into several parts for the finishing his Conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return

before it begun, as they who wished it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the Propositions, and the Instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the Treaty than before it.

They staid three days in the Island before the Treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the House for the King's reception at *Newport*, and adjusting many circumstances of the Treaty. In that time they waited several times on the King, with great show of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the King in private, they Communicated freely with some of those Lords, and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And so they found means to advertise his Majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made different impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from Persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent Considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is there were amongst the Commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the Militia, and against the Church, there was no Man, except Sir *Harry Vane*, who did not desire that a Peace might be established

B O O K
XI.

by that Treaty. For as all the other Lords desired, in their own Natures and Affections, no more than that their Transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the Lord Say himself (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being distinguished from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive) well foresaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Treaty proved ineffectual, and the Army should make their own model of the Government they would submit to (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, “that his Majesty
“ should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the
“ expiration of the Term assigned by the Parliament
“ for the Treaty” (which was forty days) “yield to
“ the full demands which were made in the Proposi-
“ tions.” Their only Argument was, “that, if he did
“ not, or not do it quickly, the Army would proceed
“ their own way; and had enough declared, that they
“ would depose the King, change the Government,
“ and settle a Republic by their own Rules and In-
“ vention.” And this Advertisement was as well be-
lieved by those of the King’s own Party, as by the Commissioners themselves.

Before the Treaty begun, the Commissioners made it known to the King, “that they could not admit
“ that any Person should be present in the Room
“ where the Treaty should be in debate: that they
“ were

“ were Commissioners sent from the Parliament to
 “ treat with his Majesty, and with Him alone ; and
 “ that they might not permit any particular and pri-
 “ vate Persons to oppose, or confer with them upon
 “ the demands of the Parliament.” So that albeit the
 Parliament had given leave to the several Bishops,
 and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminence
 to wait on his Majesty, upon his desire, that they
 might instruct and inform him in all difficult cases
 which related to Religion or the Law of the Land,
 they were like to be of little use to him now they
 were come, if they might not be present at the debate,
 and offer such advice to his Majesty, as upon emer-
 gent occasions he should stand in need of, or require
 from them. At last they were contented, and his Ma-
 jesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might
 stand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was said, and
 when any such difficulty occurred as would require
 consultation, his Majesty might retire to his Chamber,
 and call those to him, with whom he would advise,
 to attend him, and might then return again into the
 Room for the Treaty, and declare his own Resolu-
 tion. This was the unequal and unreasonable preli-
 minary and condition to which the King was com-
 pelled to submit before the Treaty could begin.

They who had not seen the King in a Year's time
 (for it was little less from the time that he had left
Hampton Court) found his Countenance extremely
 altered. From the time that his own Servants had been
 taken from him, he would never suffer his hair to be
 cut, nor cared to have any new Clothes ; so that his
 aspect and appearance was very different from what

B O O K
XI.

it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all Men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his Spirits, but carried himself with the same Majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow.

Upon *Monday* the 18th of *September*, the Treaty begun and the Commissioners presented their Commission to his Majesty, to treat with him Personally, upon the Propositions presented formerly at *Hampton-Court*, concerning the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon such Propositions as should be offered either by his Majesty, or the two Houses of Parliament, according to their Instructions, &c. Though the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had so totally subdued *Scotland*, that he had not left any Man there in the least Authority or Power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Command there as *Argyle* himself had, who was but his Creature, yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifest his own Royal Compassion for them, he told the Commissioners, “that, when the Propositions had
“ been delivered to him at *Hampton-Court*, the *Scot-*
“ *tish* Interest was so involved in them, that it could
“ be hardly separable from that of *England*: that it
“ concerned him, as King of both Kingdoms, to be
“ just and equal between both; and that though
“ they had no Authority to treat for any thing but

“ what related to *England*, yet He, who was to pro- B O O K
 “ vide for the public Peace (which could hardly be XI.
 “ provided for, except the *Scots* were comprehended
 “ in this Treaty) did desire, that they would sent to
 “ the two Houses of Parliament, to give a Pass for
 “ one of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the
 “ Council there to send some body authorized by
 “ that Kingdom, who might treat with the Commis-
 “ sioners of Parliament:” and to that purpose his
 Majesty delivered them a Paper in writing to be sent
 by them to the Parliament, telling them at the same
 time, “ that it was never his desire or meaning, that
 “ they should meddle in the Government of *England*,
 “ but only should treat concerning the Peace, to the
 “ end that that might be durable. But the Commis-
 “ sioners alledged, that it was not in Their power to
 “ receive and transmit that, or any other Paper, to
 “ the Parliament, that referred to that Kingdom; and
 “ they besought him to give them leave, as an evi-
 “ dence of their Duty, to inform him of what ill con-
 “ sequence the transmission of that Paper at that time
 “ might be to the Treaty itself. Whereupon he de-
 clined sending it by a Messenger of his own for the
 present (which he intended to have done) being un-
 willing to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so
 early, and believing that after he should have gotten
 a good understanding with the two Houses, in what
 was of immediate concernment to *England*, he should
 more effectually transmit that, or any other Paper,
 for the more easy composing the affairs of *Scotland*.

Then they presented their first Proposition to his Majesty; “ that he would revoke all Declarations,

The first
 Proposition
 for revoking

B O O K

XI.

all his Ma-
jesty's Decla-
rations, &c.

“ and Commissions granted heretofore by him
 “ against the Parliament.” Whereupon his Majesty
 desired, “ that he might see all the Propositions, they
 “ had to make to him, together; that he might the
 “ better consider what satisfaction he could give them
 “ upon the whole:” which they would not yield to
 without much importunity, and at last delivered
 them with reluctancy, as a thing they were not sure
 they ought to do. And though their Commission re-
 ferred to Instructions, and his Majesty desired that he
 might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused
 to let him have a sight of them; and only told him;
 “ that they were directed by their Instructions, first
 “ to treat upon the Proposition they had already pre-
 “ sented to him, concerning the revocation of the
 “ Declarations, &c. and in the next place, of the
 “ Church, then of the Militia, and fourthly of *Ire-*
 “ *land*, and afterwards of the rest of the Propositions
 “ in order; and they declared likewise that, by their
 “ Instructions, they were not to enter upon any new
 “ Propositions, before they should have received his
 “ Majesty’s final Answer to what was first proposed.”
 Hereupon the King demanded of them, “ whether
 “ they had power and authority to recede from any
 “ particular contained in their Propositions, or to
 “ consent to any alterations, if his Majesty should
 “ give them good reason so to do?” To which they
 Answered very Magisterially, “ that they were ready
 “ to debate, to show how reasonable their desires
 “ were, and that there could be no reason why they
 “ should alter or recede from them; but if his Ma-
 “ jesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as

“ they were warranted by their Instructions. ” These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of Government, and an alteration of all Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his Majesty had entertained of good from this Treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any Proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the Preamble of that Proposition, which they had delivered to him, he declared in writing, which he delivered to them, “ that he was willing to grant the Body of their Proposition, that was to recal all Declarations, &c. ”

But they immediately returned another Paper to him, in which they said, “ his Majesty had left unanswered the most essential part of their Proposition, repeating the words in the Preamble, ” which recited, “ that the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter into a War in their just and lawful defence; and that the Kingdom of *England* had entered into a solemn League and Covenant to prosecute the same; ” and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed “ his Majesty’s approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting Peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two Houses and of the whole Kingdom; and that the two Houses, and the Kingdom, could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since, by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Parliament, might seem Guilty of

His Majesty’s
Answer to
it.

B O O K
XI.

“ raising War against the King, and so to be guilty
“ of High-Treason by the Statute of the 25th year of
“ King *Edward* the third: whereas by the construc-
“ tion and Equity thereof they were justified; and
“ therefore that the consenting to this Preamble was
“ so essential, that without it the Parliament would
“ be thought guilty; which they hoped his Majesty
“ did not desire it should.” And that this might make
the deeper impression upon him, the Lord *Say*, in
the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion
than was natural to his Constitution, “ that he did
“ tremble to think how sad the consequence would
“ be, if what they now pressed should be denied.
And others said, “ that it was no more than his Ma-
“ jesty had heretofore granted in the Act of Indem-
“ nity that he had passed in *Scotland*; and if he should
“ now refuse to do it in *England*, there would be a
“ speedy end put to the Treaty, without entering
“ upon any of the other Propositions.” The King
was so much perplexed, and offended with this
haughty way of reasoning, that he told those with
whom he consulted, and writ the same to the Prince
his Son, “ that the long restraint he had endured in
“ the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, was not a greater evidence
“ of the Captivity of his Person, nor was he more
“ sensible of it, than this was of the Captivity of his
“ Mind, by his being forced to decline those An-
“ swers and Arguments which were proper to the
“ support of his Cause, and which must have brought
“ blushes over the Faces of the Commissioners, and
“ to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offer-
“ red to Men in that condition from him who was
“ to receive, and not give conditions.”

B O O K

XI.

Dispute con-
cerning the
Preamble of

However, this Proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a Nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government, that it seemed to naturalize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all Posterity, that his Majesty could not forbear to tell them, “that no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which was notoriously known to be false; that this Treaty must be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that he was most willing, that it should be made very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provocation soever.” He put them in mind, “that it was well known to some of them, that the Act of Indemnity in *Scotland* was passed when his Majesty was not there, nor any Commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared, and drawn by his Attorney-General of that Kingdom, who was then of the Party that was against his Majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called those of his own side, Loyal Subjects, and good Christians, in the Preamble of that Act; which was never seen by his Majesty, though it was confirmed indeed, with the other Acts which had passed in that disorderly time, by his Majesty upon the conclusion of the Peace, and their return to their obedience; and that, when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish.” To all which they made no other reply, and

BOOK

XI.

that unanimously, “but that they could not believe
“themselves secure, if that Preamble was not en-
“tirely consented to.”

This refractory obstinate adherence of the Commissioners to their own Will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the King; inso-
much as he was inclined to run the hazard of the
present dissolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all
the inconveniencies and mischiefs which probably
might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his Honor,
and the Justice of his cause, to their insolent demand,
until he had entered into a serious deliberation with
those Persons who were about him, of whose affec-
tions to him he had all assurance, and of the great
abilities, and understanding of most of them he had
a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from
the conference they had with such of the Commis-
sioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as
they thought and believed, “that if there were no
“expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon
“this first Proposition, than his Majesty had yet
“offered, as soon as the Commissioners should give
“account of it to the two Houses, they would be
“presently recalled; and the Treaty be at an end:
“and then it would be universally declared and be-
“lieved, how untrue soever the assertion was, that
“the King refused to secure the Parliament, and all
“who had adhered to them, from a Prosecution by
“Law; upon which they thought it to no purpose to
“proceed farther in the Treaty: whereas if his Ma-
“jesty had condescended to them in that particular,
“which concerned the Lives and Fortunes of their

“ whole Party in the Kingdom, they would have
“ given him such satisfaction in all other particulars,
“ as a full and happy Peace must have ensued.”

Then the Lawyers informed him, “ that his giving
“ way to a recital in a new Law, which was not a
“ Declaratory Law of what the Law was formerly in
“ being, concerning the business in question, and
“ only in a Preamble to a Law for recalling Declara-
“ tions, &c. did not make their Actions lawful, if
“ they were not so before; nor did it take away from
“ those who had adhered to him, any defence or
“ benefit the former Laws had given to them; nor
“ would his Party be in a worse condition than they
“ had always been: for his Majesty had always
“ offered, in all his Declarations, that they who fol-
“ lowed him, and who were by them called Delin-
“ quents, should, at all times, submit to a Trial by
“ the Laws of the Land, and if they should be found
“ guilty of any crime, they should not be protected
“ by him. And it was evident, by their not prose-
“ cuting any one, since they were fallen into their
“ hands, in any legal way, that they do not think
“ their transgressions can be punished by Law.”

Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and im-
portunity of all about him, as well the Divines as the
Lawyers, the King first delivered a Paper in writing
to the Commissioners, in which he declared, “ that
“ nothing that should be put in writing concerning
“ any Proposition, or part of any Proposition, should
“ be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the Trea-
“ ty should break off without effect:” and the Com-
missioners presented another Paper in writing, in

B O O K
XI.

B O O K

XI.

The King
consents to it.

which they fully consented to that Declaration. in the very terms of the said Declaration. Thereupon the King consented to pass the first Proposition, with the Preamble to it, albeit, he said, that he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to; yet he hoped his good Subjects would confess that it was but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and the peace of his Dominions."

The second
Proposition
concerning
Religion and
the Church.

The first Proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they delivered their second concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehended, "the utter abolishing Episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the Commonwealth; the Covenant; which was presented to his Majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: the Common-Prayer, and public Liturgy of the Church to be abolished, and taken away; and that the Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, in such manner as both Houses had, or should agree, after consultation with Divines, should be settled by Act of Parliament:" which, the King told them, "exceeded the Implicit faith of the Church of *Rome*; which rather obliges her Profelytes to what she Does hold, than to what she Shall." It required "the establishing the Presbyterian-Government, the Directory, the Articles of Christian Religion" (a Body whereof they presented) "the suppressing Innovations in Churches; for the better advancement of Preaching, the observation of the Lord's day; a Bill against Plu-

“ ralities and Non-residency ; several Acts against Pa- B O O K
 “ pists ; and the taking and imposing the Covenant.” XI.

This pregnant Proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his Majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all ; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first Proposition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People, “ that the King, at the entrance into it, had denied “ to give them any security for their Lives and Fortunes,” he thought it now fit to offer to the Commissioners a Proposition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly discern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would Sacrifice for their Peace ; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single Proposition, or part of a Proposition, to break the Treaty.

The King offers a Proposition of his own ; which the Commissioners refuse to send to the Houses.

His own Proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars : 1. “ That he might enjoy his “ Liberty : 2. That his Revenue might be restored “ to him : 3. That an Act of Oblivion might pass :” which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it least, as it would exempt his own Friends from many illegal, and unjust vexations.

The Commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the Houses, though they had no Authority to Answer it themselves. They said, “ it rather contained an “ Answer to all their Propositions, than was a single “ Proposition of his own ; and that the sole end of “ making it, was to cajole the People ;” which, the

B O O K

XI.

The King
sends it by
Messengers
of his own;
but it is
voted unsatis-
factory.

King told them, "better became Him to do than
"any Body else." But when they peremptorily re-
fused to transmit it to the Houses, the King sent an
Express of his own to deliver it; which being done,
after some days deliberation, the Houses returned
no other Answer to the King, "than that his Propo-
"sition was not satisfactory." In the mean time the
Commissioners pressed for his Answer to the first part
of their Proposition, for the abolishing of Bishops.
It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down
at large the Dispute, and Arguments which were
used on both sides upon this Subject. The Commis-
sioners, who would not suffer any of the King's Ser-
vants to be so much as present when any thing of the
Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose
their own Clergy upon the King; who was much
better versed in the Argument than They were.

Their Minis-
ters dispute
with the
King about
the Bishops.

That which they urged most, was the common
Allegations "that Bishop and Presbyter in the Scrip-
"ture-Language signified one and the same thing:
"that, if the Apostles exercised a larger Jurisdiction,
"it had been granted to them as Apostles, and
"concerned not their Successors, to whom no such
"Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority
"over other Presbyters, who were of the same Func-
"tion with them." Then they inveighed vehemently
against "Lords Bishops; their Pride, and Lustre;"
and they all behaved themselves with that rudeness,
as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King, no
more than to a Bishop. And two of them very
plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if he did not
"consent to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, he

“ would be damned ; ” with which his Majesty was not moved. The Men, *Jenkins* and *Spurflow*, lived after the return of King *Charles* the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of People, came to kiss his Majesty’s hand, and continued the same Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.

The King pressed them with those Texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Christian Churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of *England*, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by Bishops. The Commissioners relieved their ill-mannered Clergy, and urged, “ that
“ whatsoever was not of Divine Institution might
“ very lawfully be altered ; for if it had its Original
“ from Men, it might by Men be changed, or re-
“ versed : that Episcopacy as it was established in
“ the Church by the Laws of *England*, was not that
“ Episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in
“ Scripture ; and therefore the Laws which support-
“ ed it, might be justly taken away ; which , they
“ said, was the reason that had induced many Men
“ who were not Enemies to Episcopacy, to take the
“ Covenant ; which obliged them to take the present
“ Hierarchy away.”

In a word they urged, “ the practice of other Re-
“ formed Churches, and that his Majesty insisting
“ upon the preservation of Episcopacy, as essentially
“ necessary, was to reproach and condemn Them.”

B O O K To which he Answered, “that both *Calvin* and *Beza*,
XI. “and most learned Men of the Reformed Churches,
“had approved, and commended the Episcopal
“Government in *England*; and many of them had
“bewailed themselves, that they were not permitted
“to retain that Government.”

• Besides all their Arguments in public, which his Majesty with wonderful acuteness fully Answered, and delivered his Answers in writing to them (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to advertise the King, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, “that they were of his Majesty’s judgment
“with reference to the Government, which they
“hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method his Majesty pursued: that all the reasonable
“hope of preserving the Crown, was in dividing the
“Parliament from the Army; which could be only
“done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the Church; which
“would unite the Parliament in itself, some few Persons excepted, and the City to the Parliament;
“where the Presbyterians were most powerful; and
“this being done, the Parliament would immediately have power to reform their Army; and to
“disband those who would not be reformed: That
“then the King would be removed to *London*, to
“perfect that by his own presence in Parliament,
“which should be prepared by this Treaty; and
“then the wording those Bills, and the formality of
“passing them, would give opportunity for many
“alterations; which, being now attempted, would

“ destroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the
 “ Army; which would destroy the King: But then,
 “ what the King urged as matter of Conscience in
 “ himself would find respect, reverence, and concur-
 “ rence.” No doubt they who did make these In-
 sinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did
 think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such
 as they foretold. But that which had more Authority
 with the King, and which no body about him could
 put him in mind of, because none of them had been
 Privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had
 promised concerning the Church to the *Scots*, in the
 Engagement at the Isle of *Wight*; which he could
 not but conclude was well known to many of the
 Presbyterians in *England*: and he thought, that what-
 ever he had promised to do then, upon the bare hope
 and probability of raising an Army, he might rea-
 sonably now offer when that Army was destroyed,
 and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon
 he did, with much reluctancy, offer the same he had
 then promised to do; which was, “ to suspend Epis-
 “ copacy for three years, and then upon consultation
 “ with Divines, amongst which he would nominate
 “ twenty to be present, and to consult with them,
 “ such a Government of the Church, as should be
 “ agreed upon, might be established: that he would
 “ not force any Man to take the Covenant, and
 “ would have the Privilege of his own Chapel to use
 “ the Common-Prayer, and observe the same wor-
 “ ship he had used to do; and that all Persons, who
 “ desired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant,
 “ and to use the Directory; in fine, he consented to

B O O K

XI.

The King's
 Concessions
 on this point.

B O O K
XI.

“ all that he had offered in that Engagement with
“ reference to the Government of the Church;” and
likewise, “ that Money should be raised upon the
“ sale of the Church-Lands, and only the old Rent
“ should be reserved to the just owners and their suc-
“ cessors.” These, with some other Concessions of
less importance, which related to other Branches
of the same Proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he de-
livered to the Commissioners as his final Answer;
which the Major part of them, did then believe would
have preserved his Majesty from farther importunity
and vexation in that particular.

The third
Proposition
concerning
the Militia.

The next Proposition was concerning the Militia;
which was their Darling; and distinguished the Scots
from the *English* Presbyterians; the former never de-
siring to invade that unquestionable Prerogative of
the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it
(and as refractory without it) as of Presbytery itself;
and in that particular concurred even with *Cromwell*,
and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a
short time. In this demand they exercised their usual
modesty, and to abridge the substance of it in few
words, they required “ a power to keep up the pre-
“ sent Army, and to raise what other Armies they
“ pleased for the future; which gave them Authority
“ over the Persons of all Subjects, of what degree
“ or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise
“ Money for the use and maintenance of those For-
“ ces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means,
“ as they should think fit.” And hereby they had
had the disposal of the Estates and Fortunes of all
Men without restraint, or limitation. Thirdly, “ all
“ Forces

“ Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and disposed as They should think fit, and not otherwise.” All this modest Power and Authority “ must be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years.” And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, “ that in all Cases, when the Lords and Commons shall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concerned, unless the King give his Royal Assent to such a Bill as shall be tendered to him for raising Money, the Bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given his Royal Assent.”

There were other particulars included, of power to the City of *London* over the Militia, and for the Tower of *London*, of no importance to the King, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the King was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that They might have Authority enough to please them, and He reserve some to himself for his own security. The King had thought with himself, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose “ that the Inhabitants of every County should be the standing Militia of the Kingdom, to be drawn out of the Counties upon any occasions which should occur;” which would prevent all excessive Taxes and Impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a Proposition would be presently called a Conspiracy against the Army, and

B O O K
XI.

The King's
Answer.

so put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant Power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, "that none should be compelled to serve in the War against their Wills, but in case of an Invasion by Foreign Enemies: that the Power concerning the Land-Forces should be exercised to no other Purposes, than for the suppressing of Forces which might at any time be raised without the Authority and Consent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and maintaining the Forts and Garrisons, and the present Army, so long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament: That what Monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal Taxes, and Impositions; and lastly, that all Patents and Commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the King's name, by Warrant signified by the Lords and Commons, or such other signification as they should direct, and authorize."

This voted by
the Parlia-
ment unsatis-
factory.

These Limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon Voted "that the Message was unsatisfactory." Hereupon, that he might at least leave some Monument and Record of his care and tenderness of his People (for after his extorted Concessions to the so great prejudice of the Church, he never considered what might be dangerous to his own Person) he delivered his consent to the Proposition itself to the Commissioners, with a Preamble to this purpose;

“ that whereas their Proposition concerning the Mi- B O O K
 “ litia, required a far larger power over the Persons XI.
 “ and Estates of his Subjects, than had been ever The King
 “ hitherto warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the consents to
 “ Kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions it with a
 “ might require more, and trusting in his two Hou- Preamble.
 “ ses of Parliament, that they would make no farther
 “ use of the power therein mentioned, after the pre-
 “ sent distempers should be settled, than should be
 “ agreeable to the legal Exercise thereof in times past,
 “ and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their
 “ Proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two
 “ Houses of Parliament that he intends a full security
 “ to them, and to express his real desires to settle
 “ the Peace of the Kingdom, his Majesty doth con-
 “ sent to the Proposition concerning the Militia as it
 “ was desired.” This the Commissioners did by no
 means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alledged,
 “ that as the Concession must be the Subject of an
 “ Act of Parliament, so this Preamble must be a part
 “ of it, and would administer occasion of difference
 “ and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which
 “ being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted
 “ in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a One
 “ as is to be the principal Foundation of a lasting
 “ Peace of the Kingdom.” After much vexation of
 this kind, and importunity of Friends, as well as of
 Enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as
 of granting, he suffered the Preamble to be left out,
 and his consent to be delivered without it. At last cons-
sents to it
without the
Preamble.

It may be well wondered at, that, after having so far complied with these three Propositions, there

B O O K
XI.

The fourth
Proposition
concerning
Ireland.

should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, both the Church, and the Militia of *Ireland* followed the Fate of *England*, and were in effect comprehended in the same Propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that Kingdom, “but declaring the Peace, “that was made there with the *Irish*, to be void; “which they pressed with the same passion, as if “they had obtained nothing;” although his Majesty referred the carrying on the War to them, and told them, “that he knew nothing of the Peace, which “had been made during his Imprisonment, when he “could receive no Advertisement of what was “doing, or done; and therefore he was content that “it should be broken, and the War be carried on in “such a manner as should please Them;” which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the Peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take that vengeance of the Marquis of *Ormond* as they resolved to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned Himself, and the Public, and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed his consent to what only concerned private and particular Persons, as the revoking all Honors and Grants of Offices which he had conferred upon those who had served him faithfully, and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of

the two Houses, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several Professions, and Functions (which exposed all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be expressed with what grief, and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the Argument “that he had done so much, was now pressed upon him” (by his Friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) “that he should do more; and since he had condescended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the Kingdom that Peace and Security he desired.”

B O O K
XL.
Some other particulars the King at first sticks at :

Many Advertisements came from his Friends in *London*, and from other places, “that it was high time that the Treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majesty’s Answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the Army drew nearer *London*; which, infallibly, it would shortly do, as soon as those in the North had finished their work.” It was now near the end of *October*, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the Treaty was the fourth of *November*; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his Majesty’s consent was procured

B O O K

XI.

But consents
at last,The Commis-
sioners now
send the
King's own
Proposition to
the Parlia-
ment.They require
a Declaration
of the King
against the
Marquis of
Ormond.
His Majesty's
Answer.

to most that was demanded in the rest of the Propositions; the King, and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

The King had, about the middle of *October*, again delivered his own Proposition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commissioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refused to transmit it to the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so as soon as they received it. But no Answer was returned. Hereupon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majesty demanded of them, “whether
“ they had received any Instructions to treat upon,
“ or to give an Answer to his own Proposition, which
“ he had delivered to them so long since? or whe-
“ ther they had received any Order to prolong the
“ Treaty?” To which they Answered, “they had
“ not as to either.” And when he asked them the same Question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same Answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the Treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any Answer to the single Proposition the King had made to them. However they told him, “they had received new Command
“ to make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he
“ would forthwith publish a Declaration against the
“ Marquis of *Ormond*; who had very lately declared,
“ that he had Authority to make a Peace with the
“ *Irish* Rebels; and was then treating with them to
“ that purpose. To which his Majesty Answered,
“ that it was not reasonable to press him to publish

“ any Declaration against the Marquis; since that if
 “ the Treaty should end happily, the desires of the
 “ two Houses were satisfied by the Concessions he
 “ had already made;” and so adhered to his first
 Answer. And conceiving the Treaty to be closed,
 he desired the Commissioners, “ that since He had
 “ departed from so much of his own Right to give
 “ his two Houses satisfaction, They would be a
 “ means that he might be pressed no farther; since
 “ the few things he had not satisfied them in, had so
 “ near relation to his Conscience, that, with the
 “ Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and de-
 “ sired them to use the same eloquence, and abilities,
 “ by which they had prevailed with Him, in repre-
 “ senting to the two Houses the sad condition of the
 “ Kingdom, if it were not preserved by this Treaty.”
 And so concluded with many gracious expressions
 for their Personal civilities, and other kind Expres-
 sions; which made impression upon all of them who
 had any Bowels.

All this being past, and the King believing and
 expecting that the Commissioners would take their
 leave of him the next morning, they came the same
 Night to inform him, “ that they had then received
 “ new Orders and Instructions for the continuing
 “ and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days longer;”
 for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did
 they in the Houses who wished well to him, desire
 that Prolongation. For it was easily discerned, that
 it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did
 not intend that the Treaty itself should have any
 good effect; which they were not yet ready and

The Parlia-
 ment enlarges
 the Treaty 14
 days longer.

B O O K prepared enough to prevent, the Army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance of the Treaty was the best sign that both sides desired Peace: and it quickly appeared, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only business. The Commissioners, with new importunity, and bitterness, begun upon their new Instructions, "that the King would immediately publish the Declaration against the Marquis of *Ormond*," without any other reasons than those which he had Answered before. His Majesty Answered, "there was no other difference between them but in point of time, whether presently, or at the conclusion of the Peace: upon the Peace, they had the substance of their desire already granted; and if there were no Peace, they had reason to believe that no Declaration he should make would be believed or obeyed;" and so adhered to what he had Answered formerly.

The Commis-
sioners renew
their De-
mand about
Ormond.

His Majesty's
Answer.

They urge
farther about
the Church.

Then they declared, "that the Parliament was not satisfied with his Concessions with reference to the Church; that the Presbyterian Government could be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-lived as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the utter extirpating the Function of Bishops." Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands was insisted on; whereas by the King's Concessions, the old Rent was still reserved to them. They said, "the Parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectify his Conscience;" and, to that end, they

added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the Scripture-Bishop, and the Bishop by Law. For the absolute alienation of their Lands, they urged many Precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances."

To all which his Majesty Answered, "that, for the Presbyterian Government, they might remember that their own first Order for the settling it, was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a Probationary Law, that contained such an alteration in the State; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test, and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honor to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination." He said, "he was well pleased with their Expression, that they did not intend to force his Conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his Conscience; that he did concur with them in their distinction of Bishops, and if they would preserve the Scripture-Bishop, he would take away the Bishop by Law." He confessed, "that Necessity might justify, or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the Church of God of an Order instituted for con-

B O O K
XI.

The King's
Answer.

B O O K
XI.

“ tinal use, and for establishing a Succession of Law-
ful Ministers in the Church.” For the point of Sacri-
lege, he said, “ the concurrent opinion of all Divines
“ was a much better information to his Conscience,
“ what is Sacrilege, than any Precedents or Law of
“ the Land could be.” Upon the whole matter, he
adhered to his former Answer in all the particulars,
and concluded, “ that he could with more comfort
“ cast himself upon God’s goodness to support him
“ in, and defend him from all Afflictions, how great
“ soever, that might befall him, than deprive himself
“ of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for any
“ Politic consideration that might seem to be a means
“ to restore him.”

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when
the Treaty was to end, they delivered to the King
the Votes which the two Houses had passed concern-
ing and upon his own Message (which had lain so
long in their hands unanswered) which were in effect,

The Parlia-
ment’s Votes
upon the
King’s former
Proposition.

1. “ That from and after such time as the Agreements
“ upon this Treaty should be ratified by Acts of Par-
“ liament, all his Houses, Mannors, and Lands, with
“ the growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all
“ other Legal Revenue of the Crown should be ref-
“ tored to him, liable to the maintenance of those
“ Ancient Forts, and Castles, and such other Legal
“ Charges as they were formerly charged withal, or
“ liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise reset-
“ tled in a condition of Honor, Freedom, and Safety,
“ agreeable to the Laws of the Land. 3. That an Act
“ of Indemnity should be then passed with such ex-
“ ceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon,

“ with this addition, that it should be declared by
 “ Act of Parliament, that nothing contained in his
 “ Majesty’s Propositions should be understood or
 “ made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree
 “ to impair any Agreement in this Treaty, or any
 “ Law, Grant, or Commission agreed upon by his Ma-
 “ jesty and the two Houses of Parliament, in pursu-
 “ ance thereof; in all which his Majesty acquiesced.”

B O O K
 XI.

The time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty was to end upon the one-and-twentieth of *November*, and the Commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next Morning went to Cows-Harbour to Embark themselves. But the Tide not serving to Transport them out of the Island, that Night a Messenger arrived with Directions to them to continue the Treaty till the five-and-twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three- and - twentieth, they returned and acquainted his Majesty with it.

Another
 Prolongation
 of the Treaty
 till Nov. 25.

At the same time, the thundering Declaration of the Army was published; which declared the full resolution “ to change the whole frame of the Government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration;” which, as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since Their Interest was no less threatened than His.

The Decla-
 ration of the
 Army.

The fresh Instances the Commissioners made, were upon several Votes which had passed the two Houses

The Commis-
 sioners new
 Proposition:

BOOK

XI.

against Delinquents since Jan. 47. and others, especially the Marquis of Ormond.

against Delinquents; and a new Proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the Parliament since the last *January*, and particularly against the Marquis of *Ormond*. They proposed, “that there should be seven Persons, the Lord *New-
“ Castle*, and six others” (who were named) “who
“ should be excepted from pardon, and their Estates
“ forfeited: that the Delinquents, in the several Claf-
“ ses mentioned in their Proposition, should pay for
“ their Composition, some a Moiety, others a third
“ part of their Estates, and other Rates, as they were
“ set down; and that all who had been engaged in
“ the Land or Sea-Service since *January* 1647, should
“ pay a full year’s value of their whole Estates more
“ than the other Delinquents; and that none who
“ had been against the Parliament should presume to
“ come within either of the Courts belonging to the
“ King, Queen, or Prince, or be capable of any
“ Office or Preferment, or of serving in Parliament,
“ for the space of three years; and that all Clergy-
“ Men who had been against the Parliament, should
“ be deprived of all their Preferments, Places, and
“ Promotions; which should be all void as if they
“ were naturally dead.” To these the King Answered,
that, “to the excepting the seven Persons named
“ from Pardon, and the forfeiture of their Estates,
“ his Answer was, that, if they were proceeded
“ against according to the ancient established Laws,
“ and could not justify and defend themselves, he
“ would not interpose on their behalf; but he could
“ not, in justice or honor, join himself in any Act
“ for taking away the Life or Estate of any that had

The King’s
Answer.

“ adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be
 “ paid for Composition, he referred it to the two
 “ Houses of Parliament, and to the Persons them-
 “ selves, who would be contented to pay it; and he
 “ did hope and desire, that they might be moderate-
 “ ly dealt with. And for the Clergy - Men, whose
 “ Preferments he well knew were already disposed
 “ of,” and in the hands of another kind of Clergy,
 who had deserved so well of the Parliament, that it
 would not be in his power to dispossess them, his
 Majesty desired, “ that they might be allowed a third
 “ part of what was taken from them, till such time
 “ that they, or the present Incumbents, should be
 “ better provided for.” As to the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 against whom they pressed what they had before done
 with extraordinary Animosity, the King Answered,
 “ that since what he had said before” (and which
 would bring all to pass that they desired) “ did not
 “ give them satisfaction, he had written a Letter”
 (which he delivered to them to be sent, and read to
 them) “ in which he directed him to desist; and said,
 “ if he refused to submit to his Command, he would
 “ then publish such a Declaration against his power
 “ and his proceedings, as they desired.”

And now the second limitation of time for the
 Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another
 Vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a
 Command to the Commissioners to return on *Thurs-*
day Morning; which was the eight-and-twentieth of
November: and thereupon they presented two Pro-
 positions to his Majesty, which were to be des-
 patched that day.

Another Pro-
 longation of
 the Treaty for
 a day, where-
 in they present
 two Proposi-
 tions more.

B O O K

XI.

One concern-
ing Scotland.

To that the
King's Answer.

The two Propositions they sent for one day's work, were, the first, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For *Scotland*, they demanded "the King's consent, to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreements as should be made by both Houses with that Kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the Parliament of *England*, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for the mutual defence of each other." The King put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the Treaty they had informed him, that their Commission was only to treat concerning *England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a Paper from him, which was to preserve the Interest of that Kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their Commission was enlarged?" which they confessed "was not; and that they had presented that Paper only in obedience to the Order they had received." So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "that the King had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Answered, that as he would join in any Agreement, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; so

“ he would secure all who had been formerly en-
 “ gaged with them ; but for any new Engagement,
 “ or Confederacy, which they would make hereafter,
 “ he would first know what it was, and be advised
 “ with in the making it, before he would promise to
 “ confirm it.” The other business with reference to
 the Church gave him much more trouble. The Com-
 missioners pressed him “ to consider the Exigence of
 “ time, and that there was not a whole day left to
 “ determine the Fate of the Kingdom ; and that no-
 “ thing could unite the Counsels of those who wished
 “ and desired Peace, and to live happily under his
 “ Subjection and obedience, against the bold at-
 “ tempts of the Army, which had enough declared
 “ and manifested what their intention was, but satif-
 “ fying the Houses fully in what they demanded in
 “ that particular.” His own Council, and the Divines,
 besought him “ to consider the safety of his own
 “ Person, even for the Church’s and his People’s
 “ sakes, who had some hope still left whilst He should
 “ be preserved, which could not but be attended
 “ with many Blessings : whereas, if He were des-
 “ troyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve
 “ them : that the moral and unavoidable necessity
 “ that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing
 “ that was not Sin ; and that, upon the most pru-
 “ dential thoughts which occurred to them, the
 “ Order which He, with so much Piety and Zeal,
 “ endeavoured to preserve, was much more like to
 “ be destroyed by his not complying, than by his
 “ suspending it till his Majesty and his two Houses
 “ should agree upon a future Government ; which,
 “ they said, much differed from an abolition of it.”

The other
 touching the
 Church.

B O O K

XI.

The King's
Final Answer.

Hereupon he gave them his final Answer, " that
 " after such condescensions, and weighed resolutions
 " in the business of the Church, he had expected not
 " to be farther pressed therein; it being his judgment,
 " and his conscience. He said, he could not, as he
 " was then informed, abolish Episcopacy out of the
 " Church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal
 " new distractions might be to the Kingdom, and
 " that he believed his two Houses would yield to
 " truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had
 " always declared that he would comply with their
 " Demands, if he were convinced in his Conscience,
 " he did therefore again desire a Consultation with
 " Divines, in the manner he had before proposed,
 " and would in the mean time suspend the Episcopal
 " power, as well in point of Ordination of Ministers,
 " as of Jurisdiction, till He and the two Houses should
 " agree what Government should be established for
 " the future. For Bishops Lands, he could not con-
 " sent to the absolute alienation of them from the
 " Church, but would consent that Leases for Lives,
 " or Years, not exceeding ninety-nine, should be
 " made for the satisfaction of Purchasers or Contrac-
 " tors;" little differing from the Answer he had for-
 merly given to this last particular: and in all the rest
 he adhered to his former Answers. And the Commis-
 sioners, having received this his final Answer, took
 their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Jour-
 ney towards *London*.

The King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son
 before the first forty days were expired, and con-
 tinued it, as the Treaty was lengthened, even to the
 hour

hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine-and-twentieth of *November* after the Commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had passed in the Treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the Clerks who attended. But the Letter itself was all in his own hand, and contained above six Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those Concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the Major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those Concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the Army, they would have been themselves Suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the Church and Religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations," was the hard measure his Friends were subjected to; for whose Interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to do in the Preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, that all who were willing that he should continue their King, and to live under his Government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a Brand upon his Party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his Friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but

B O O K
XI.

The Sum of
the King's
Letter to his
Son concern-
ing the whole
Treaty.

B O O K
XI.

“ how much he had endeavoured to relieve them
 “ from ;” and conjured the Prince his Son , “ that
 “ the less he had been able himself to do for them,
 “ the more, if God blessed him, He should acknow-
 “ ledge and supply.” He said, “ he would willingly
 “ forget in how high degree some Subjects had been
 “ disloyal, but never had Prince a Testimony in
 “ others of more Loyalty than He had had ; and
 “ however that God, for their, and his punishment,
 “ had not blessed some of their Endeavours, yet, he
 “ said, more misguided Persons were at last reduced
 “ to their Loyalty, than could in any story be exam-
 “ pled ; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how
 “ dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is ; and
 “ that Men cannot easily fix when they please what
 “ they have unnecessarily shaken.” The conclusion
 of the Letter, as it was dated, the five-and-twentieth
 of *November* (what was added to it after, till the nine-
 and-twentieth, was but the additional passages upon
 the enlargement of time) deserves to be preserved in
 Letters of Gold, and gives the best Character of that
 excellent Prince ; and was in these words.

The Conclu-
 sion of that
 Letter in the
 King's own
 words.

“ By what hath been said , you see how long We
 “ have labored in the search of Peace : do not You
 “ be disheartened to tread in the same steps Use all
 “ worthy ways to restore yourself to your Right,
 “ but prefer the way of Peace : show the greatness
 “ of your mind, if God bless you (and let Us comfort
 “ you with that which is our own Comfort, that
 “ though Affliction may make us pass under the
 “ censures of Men , yet We look upon it so , as if it
 “ procure not, by God's Mercy, to Us a Deliverance,

“ it will to You a blessing) rather to conquer your
 “ Enemies by pardoning , than punishing. If You
 “ saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable
 “ disposition is in our ill-Willers , you would avoid
 “ that Spirit. Censure Us not for having parted with
 “ so much of our own Right ; the price was great ,
 “ but the commodity was security to Us , Peace to
 “ our People : and we were confident, another Par-
 “ liament would remember how useful a King’s
 “ power is to a People’s liberty ; of how much there-
 “ of We divested Ourselves , that We and They might
 “ meet once again in a due Parliamentary way , to
 “ agree the bounds of Prince and People. And in
 “ this give belief to our Experience , never to affect
 “ more Greatness or Prerogative , than that which is
 “ really and intrinsically for the Good of Subjects ,
 “ not the satisfaction of Favorites. If you thus use
 “ it , you will never want means to be a Father to
 “ all , and a bountiful Prince to any you would be
 “ extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all
 “ Men intrust their Treasure where it returns them
 “ Interest ; and if Princes , like the Sea , receive , and
 “ repay all the fresh streams the River intrusts with
 “ them , they will not grudge , but pride themselves
 “ to make them up an Ocean. These considerations
 “ may make You as great a Prince , as your Father
 “ is now a low one ; and Your State may be so much
 “ the more established , as Mine hath been shaken. For
 “ our Subjects have learned (we dare say) that Vic-
 “ tories over their Princes are but Triumphs over
 “ themselves ; and so will be more unwilling to
 “ hearken to changes hereafter. The *English* Nation

B O O K
XI.

“ are a sober People, however at present infatuated.
“ We know not but this may be the last time We
“ may speak to you, or the World, publicly: We
“ are sensible into what hands We are fallen; and
“ yet, We bless God, We have those inward refresh-
“ ments the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb.
“ We have learned to busy Ourselves by retiring into
“ Ourselves; and therefore can the better digest what
“ befalls Us; not doubting but God’s Providence
“ will restrain Our Enemies power, and turn their
“ Fierceness to his Praise.

“ To conclude, if God gives you Success; use it
“ humbly and far from Revenge. If He restore you
“ to your Right upon hard Conditions, whatever
“ you promise, keep. These Men, who have forced
“ Laws which they were bound to preserve, will
“ find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not think
“ any thing in this World worth the obtaining by
“ foul and unjust means.

“ You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct
“ you to weigh what We here recommended to you,
“ so We assure you, We do not more affectionately
“ pray for you (to whom We are a Natural Parent)
“ than We do, that the ancient Glory and Renown
“ of this Nation be not buried in Irreligion and Pha-
“ natic Humor; and that all our Subjects (to whom
“ We are a Politic Parent) may have such sober
“ thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Orthodox pro-
“ fession of the Christian Religion, as it was establish-
“ ed since the Reformation in this Kingdom, and
“ not in new Revelations; and that the ancient Laws,
“ with the interpretation according to the known

“ practice, may once again be a hedge about Them, B O O K
“ that You may in due time govern, and They be XI.
“ governed, as in the fear of God; which is the
“ prayer of

“ Your very loving Father C. R.”

Newport 25th. Nov. 1648.

Whilst the Treaty lasted, it was believed that his Majesty might have made his escape; which most Men who wished him well, thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and before the Treaty, he himself was inclined to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some Persons in *France* were that he should have made his Escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; without doubt, was not from want of tenderness to his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have showed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer by the closest Imprisonment. And sure there was, at that time, no Court in *Christendom* so honorably, or generously constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him; and it might be some reason that they who wished him very well, did not wish his Escape, because they believed Imprisonment was the worst his worst Enemies intended towards him; since they might that way more reasonably found, and settle their Republican Government; which Men could not so pru-

B O O K
XI.

dently propose to bring to pass by a Murder; which, in the instant, gave the just Title to another who was at liberty to claim his Right, and to dispute it: I say, before the Treaty, and after the Votes and declarations of no more Addresses, when his Treatment was so barbarous, his Majesty had proposed to himself to make an Escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such Persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his Safety; and therefore chose such Instruments as they thought to be of their own Principles. Among those there was a young Man, one *Osborne*, by extraction a Gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord *Wharton* (one who deserved not to be suspected by *Cromwell* himself) to Colonel *Hammond*, to be placed in some near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the Man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman-Usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the King. This young Man, after some Months attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's Carriage, and the great Affability he used towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal Sense of his Sufferings; and did really desire to do him any Service that might be acceptable. By his Office of Gentleman-Usher he usually held the King's Gloves when he was at Meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little Billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his Glove. The King was not forward to be credulous of the Professions of a Person he knew so little, and who, he knew, would not be suffered

to be about him, if he were thought to have those Inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the Garden allowed for that purpose, his Majesty begun to believe that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some Memorial into the fingers of his Glove, and by the same expedient received advertisement from him.

There was in the Garrison one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot-Company, whom *Cromwell* placed there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts; who, from a Common-Soldier had been trusted in all the intrigues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inspired by *Cromwell* to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the King, when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great Officers. This Man grew into great familiarity with *Osborne*, and knowing from what Person he came recommended to that Trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the King, he wished “ he were out of the World; for they
“ should never make any Settlement whilst he
“ was alive. He said, he was sure the Army wished
“ him dead, and that *Hammond* had received many
“ Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poi-
“ son, or any other way; but he saw it would never
“ be done in that place; and therefore, if he would
“ join with him, they would get Him from thence;”

B O O K
XI.

and then the work would easily be done. *Osborne* asked him, "how it could be possible to remove Him
" from thence, without *Hammond's*, or the King's
" own consent?" *Rolph* Answered, "that the King
" might be decoyed from thence, as he was from
" *Hampton-Court*, by some Letters from his Friends,
" of some danger that threatened him, upon which
" he would be willing to make an Escape; and then
" he might easily be despatched." *Osborne* shortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

An Attempt
for the King's
Escape.

The King bid him "continue his familiarity with
" *Rolph*, and to promise to join with him in contri-
" ving how his Majesty should make an Escape;" and he hoped thereby to make *Rolph's* Villany the means of getting away. He recommended one of the Common-Soldiers to *Osborne*, "who, he said, he thought, might
" be trusted;" and wished him "to trust one *Doucet*;" whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back-stairs, and was indeed an honest Man; for it was impossible for him to make an Escape, without the privity of such Persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the Castle, as well as help him from thence. *Osborne* told *Rolph*, "he was confident he should in
" the end persuade the King to attempt an Escape,
" though he yet seemed jealous and apprehensive of
" being discovered, and taken again." *Doucet* concurred very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was chosen by the King, proved likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his Companions who used to stand Sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided;

and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, sawed an Iron-Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the Night was appointed, and *Osborne* at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers informed *Rolph* of more particulars than *Osborne* had done, by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and stand Sentinel in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he, and some others trusted by him, were Armed, and stood very near with their Pistols. At midnight the King came to the Window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned more Persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

Rolph acquainted *Hammond* with what the King had designed; who presently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seized upon *Doucet*, but could not apprehend *Osborne*; who was either fled out of the Island, or concealed in it that he could not be found. *Rolph* could not forbear to insult upon *Doucet* in Prison, and scornfully asked him, “why his King came not forth when

B O O K

XI.

Osborne ac-
cuses Rolph
for a design
upon the
King's Life.

“ he was at the Window ?” and said, “ he was ready
“ with a good Pistol charged to have received him.”
When *Osborne* had got into a place of present safety,
he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord *Wharton*, in-
forming him of the whole matter; and desired him,
“ to acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon
“ the King's Life, and that he would be ready to
“ appear and justify the Conspiracy.” That Lord,
after he had kept the Letter some time, sent it to *Ham-*
mond, as the fittest Person to examine the truth of
the Relation. *Osborne* was not discouraged with all
this; but sent two Letters to the Speakers of both
Houses, and inclosed the Letter he had formerly writ
to the Lord *Wharton*. In the House of Commons
the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it
made more impresson upon the House of Peers; who
sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the
Commons, “ that *Rolph* might be sent for, and a Safe-
“ guard for forty days to *Osborne* to appear, and
“ prosecute.”

Rolph brought with him a large Testimonial from
Hammond of “ his Integrity, and of the many good
“ Services he had done to the State.” *Osborne* appear-
ed likewise at the Lords Bar, and made good upon
Oath all that is before set down, and undertook to
produce other Evidence. The House of Commons
had no mind to have it examined farther, but the
clamor of the People was so great, that, after many
delays, they Voted “ that it should be tried at the
“ General Assizes at *Winchester*.” And thither they
sent their well tried Serjeant *Wild*, to be the sole
Judge of that Circuit; before whom the Major part

of the same Jury that had found Captain *Burly* guilty, was impannelled for the Trial of *Rolph. Osborne*, and *Doucet*, who upon Bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oaths, declared all that *Rolph* had said to them, as is set down before. The Prisoner, if he may be called a Prisoner who was under no restraint, had two Lawyers assigned to be of Council with him, contrary to the Law and Custom in those Cases; but he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge himself; who told the Jury, “that it was a business of great
 “importance that was before them; and therefore
 “that they should take heed what they did in it:
 “that there Was a time indeed when Intentions and
 “Words were Treason, but God forbid it should be
 “so now: how did any body know but that those
 “two Men, *Osborne* and *Doucet*, would have made
 “away the King, and that *Rolph* charged his Pistol
 “to preserve him? or, perhaps they would have
 “carried him away to have engaged them in a se-
 “cond War.” He told them, “they were mistaken
 “who did believe the King in Prison; the Parliament
 “did only keep him safe to save the shedding of more
 “Blood.” Upon these good directions, the Grand-Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this was some little time before the Treaty.

When the Commissioners who had treated with the King at the Isle of *Wight*, were returned to the Parliament, their report took up many days in the House of Commons, where the Resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought

The Commis-
sioners report
of the Treaty
to the Par-
liament.

B O O K

XI.

A long and
sharp Debate
upon it.

Sir Henry
Vane's
Speech con-
cerning it.

fit to determine. The Question upon the whole was,
“ whether the Answer that the King had made to
“ their Propositions, was satisfactory? ” which was
debated with all the Virulence, and Acrimony to-
wards each other, that can fall from Men so possessed
as both sides were.

Young Sir *Henry Vane* had begun the Debate with
the highest Insolence, and Provocation; telling them,
“ that they should that day know and discover, who
“ were their Friends, and who were their Foes; or,
“ that he might speak more plainly, who were the
“ King's Party in the House, and who were for the
“ People; ” and so proceeded with his usual grave
bitterness against the Person of the King, and the
Government that had been too long Settled; put
them in mind, “ that they had been diverted from
“ their old settled Resolution and Declaration, that
“ they would make no more Addresses to the King;
“ after which the Kingdom had been governed in
“ great Peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that
“ Republican Government which they intended and
“ begun to establish, when, by a Combination be-
“ tween the City of *London* and an ill affected Party
“ in *Scotland*, with some small contemptible Insur-
“ rections in *England*, all which were fomented by
“ the City, the Houses had, by clamor and noise,
“ been induced and compelled to reverse their
“ former Votes and Resolution, and enter into a
“ Personal Treaty with the King; with whom they
“ had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the
“ low Condition he was in, to give them any secu-
“ rity; but he had still reserved a power in himself,

“ or at least to his Posterity, to exercise as Tyran-
“ nical a Government as he had done: that all the
“ Insurrections, which had so terrified them, were
“ now totally subdued; and the principal Authors
“ and Abettors of them in their Custody, and ready
“ to be brought to Justice, if they pleased to direct,
“ and appoint it: that their Enemies in *Scotland* were
“ reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to a
“ firm and good correspondence with their Brethren,
“ the Parliament of *England*; so that there was no-
“ thing wanting, but their own Consent and Resolu-
“ tion, to make themselves the happiest Nation and
“ People in the World; and to that purpose desired,
“ that they might, without any more loss of time,
“ return to their former Resolution of making no
“ more Addresses to the King; but proceed to the
“ settling the Government without him, and to the
“ severe punishment of those who had disturbed their
“ peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as
“ might terrify all other Men for the future from
“ making the like bold attempts: which, he told
“ them, they might see would be most grateful to
“ their Army, which had merited so much from them
“ by the Remonstrance they had so lately published.”

This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of Murmur which usually shows how the House stands inclined, and by which Men make their judgments there, of the success that is like to be. And his Preface, and Entrance into the Debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, “ his
“ presumption in taking upon himself to divide the
“ House, and to censure their Affections to the

B O O K
XI.

“ Public, as their sense and judgment should agree;
 “ or disagree with his own.” One said “ that since he
 “ had, without Example, taken so much upon him,
 “ he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed
 “ by other Men; and that it was as lawful for another
 “ Man, who said he was no gainer by the Troubles,
 “ to make another Division of the House, and to say,
 “ that they should find in the Debate of that day,
 “ that there were some who were desirous of Peace;
 “ and that They were all losers, or at least, no gainers
 “ by the War; and that others were against Peace;
 “ and that They by the War had gained large Re-
 “ venues, and great Sums of Money, and much
 “ Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that the
 “ Gainers might contribute to the Losers, if they
 “ would not consent that the one might enjoy what
 “ was left, and the other possess what they had got,
 “ by a Peace that might be happy for both.”

The large Re-
 monstrance
 of the Army
 brought to
 the House by
 six Officers.

Whilst this was debating in the House, which con-
 tinued several days, six Officers, from the head-Quar-
 ters at *Windsor*, whither the Army had been brought
 before, or at the time when the Treaty ended at the
 Isle of *Wight*, brought their large Remonstrance to the
 House; in which they desired, “ that there might be
 “ no farther proceedings upon the Treaty; but that
 “ they would return to their former determination of
 “ no farther Addresses, and make what haste they
 “ could in settling the Government: that the bar-
 “ gaining Proposition on the behalf of Delinquents,
 “ which was only upon a Contract with the King,
 “ and not in any Judicial way, might be laid aside,
 “ and that public Justice might be done upon the

“ principal Actors in the late Troubles, and that
 “ others, upon a true submission, might find Mercy:
 “ that a peremptory day might be set, when the
 “ Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*, should be
 “ required to appear; which if they should not do,
 “ they should stand exiled as Traitors; and if they
 “ should appear, yet they should be bound to make
 “ some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this
 “ Parliament, and a new Representative chosen of
 “ the People, for the governing and preserving the
 “ whole Body of the Nation. That no King might
 “ be hereafter admitted but upon Election of the
 “ People, and as upon trust for the People, who
 “ should be likewise limited and restrained by the
 “ Representative,” with many other impracticable
 Particulars, which troubled the Parliament the less
 for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced
 into practice.

But that which troubled most, and indeed which
 awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions,
 was, that they were advertised, that the King was
 taken away from *Carisbrooke-Castle* by an Officer of
 the Army, and carried to *Hurst-Castle*, not far from
 the other, but Situated on the main Land, and in so
 vile and unwholesome an Air, that the Common-
 Guards there used to be frequently changed for the
 preservation of their health. Colonel *Hammond* had,
 before the expiration of the Treaty, writ many Let-
 ters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that
 Government, and from the care of the King's Person;
 and the Officers of the Army seemed wonderfully
 offended with him for making the demand; and he

B O O K
 XI.
 The King
 taken from
 Carisbrooke-
 Castle and
 carried to
 Hurst-Castle;

B O O K got himself looked upon as under a Cloud. But the
XI. Treaty was no sooner ended (and before the Commissioners begun their Report to the Houses) but he was discharged of the Trust of the Person of the King, and another Colonel sent to take the Person of the King, and to carry him to *Hurst-Castle*.

Vote of the
House of
Commons
thereupon.

This News being brought when they were in the heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately Voted, " that the
 " seizing upon the King's Person, and carrying him
 " Prisoner to *Hurst-Castle*, was without Their advice and consent : " which Vote had little contradiction, because no Man would own the Advice. Then they caused a Letter to be written to the General, " that the Orders and Instructions to Colonel
 " *Ewre*" (the Officer who had seized the King) " were
 " contrary to their Resolutions, and Instructions to
 " Colonel *Hammond* ; and therefore, that it was the
 " pleasure of the House, that he should recal those
 " Orders ; and that Colonel *Hammond* should again
 " resume the care of the King's Person." But the General, without taking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army ; and told them,
 " that, unless there were present Money sent to
 " that purpose, he should be forced to remove the
 " Army, and to draw them nearer to *London*." And
 " at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the
 " House from the Army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance ; which the House refused to take into consideration ; and some sturdy Members moved,
 " that the Army might be declared Traitors, if they
 " presumed

Another
Declaration of
the Army sent
to the House.

“ presumed to march nearer *London* than they were
 “ at present; and that an impeachment of High-
 “ Treason might be drawn up against the principal
 “ Officers of it.” Hereupon, the General marches
 directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the
 other Officers, with their Troops, in *Durham-House*,
 the *Mews*, *Covent-Garden*, *Westminster*, and *St. James*’;
 and, for the present necessity, that no inconvenience
 might fall out, they sent to the City without delay to
 supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately
 issued out to satisfy the Army. Notwithstanding all
 which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons
 retained its Courage, and were resolute “ to assert
 “ the Treaty; and that the King’s Answers were satis-
 “ factory; or if they were not fully satisfactory; that
 “ the House might, and ought to accept thereof,
 “ and proceed to the settlement of Peace in Church
 “ and State, rather than to reject them as unsatis-
 “ factory, and thereby continue the Kingdom in War
 “ and Distraction.”

They who vehemently pressed this Conclusion,
 and would be thought to be for the King, to make
 themselves popular, took upon them to make all the
 Invectives both against the King, and all the time of
 his Government, that his bitterest Enemies could do,
 only that they might show how much the concessions
 he had now granted, had provided Remedies for all
 those Evils, and made all the foundation of their
 future hope of happiness and peace, to be in the no-
 power they had left him in: so that if he should have
 a mind to continue the Distractions to morrow, he
 would find no Body ready ever to join with him,

B O O K
XI.

having at this time sacrificed all his Friends to the Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the Debate most part of the Night, till almost five of the Clock in the Morning, on *Monday* Night, they had first put the Question, "whether the Question should be put?" and carried it by a hundred and forty Voices against one hundred and four: the main Question, "That the Answer of the King to the Propositions of both Houses was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom," was so clearly Voted, that the House was not divided; and that there might be no after-claps, they appointed a Committee "to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelligence and Correspondence between the Army and the Parliament;" and then they Adjourned the House to *Wednesday* Morning, it being then near the Morning of *Tuesday*.

Vote "that
" the King's
" Answer was
" a ground for
" Peace."

The Committee that was appointed to confer with the General, waited that Afternoon upon him in his Lodging at *White-Hall*, that they might be able to give some Account to the House the next Morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly, and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the Army, was to comply with their Remonstrance:" and, the next Morning, there was a Guard of Musqueteers placed at the entry into, and door of the House, and the Officers thereof having a List in their hands of the Names of those who should be restrained from going into the House, all Those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and

Many of the
Members entering into the

sent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which there were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through the inadvertency of the Guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory Persons, that the Debate, upon resuming the same Question, continued very long; several Members who observed the force at the entrance of the House, and saw their Companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privilege, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the House would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long Debate, the Major part of those who were present in the House, Voted the Negative to what had been settled in the former Debate, and "that the Answer the King had given "to their Propositions was not satisfactory."

B O O K

XI.

House seized upon by the Soldiers.

The remaining Members Vote the contrary to former Votes.

Those Gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Triumph through *Westminster-Hall* (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away) by a strong Guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called *Hell*; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. And here they were kept in one Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold Weather, and the Age of many of the Members, they were carried to several Inns; where they were suffered to lodge as Prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they published a

B O O K

XI.

Vote, "that
 " those who
 " were absent
 " at the Nega
 " tive Vote
 " should sit
 " no more in
 " the House."

Vote of no
 more Address
 ses renewed.

Protestation in Print against the Proceedings of the House of Commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them:" and then the House, with the remaining Members, having determined what they thought fit, most of the others were at liberty to do what they pleased. No body owned this Act of Violence in the Exclusion of so many Members: there was no Order made for it by the House. *Fairfax* the General knew nothing of it, and the Guards themselves being asked "what Authority they had," gave no other Answer, "but that they had Orders." But afterwards there was a full and clear Order of the House, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that none of them who had not been present that day when the Negative Vote prevailed, should sit any more in the House, before they had first subscribed the same Vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified Members as before." Many of these excluded Members, out of Conscience or Indignation, forbore coming any more to the House for many years; some, not before the Revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old Seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

Then the House renewed their old Votes of no more Addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the Treaty: and that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several Prisons Major-General *Brown* (though he was then Sheriff of *London*) Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Major-General *Massey*,

and Commiffary-General *Copley*, who were the most active Members in the House of the Presbyterian Party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the Service of the Parliament in their several Stations against the King as any Men of their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the present Army had then credit to do: of these, *Massey* made his escape, and Transported himself into *Holland*; and there, according to the natural Modesty of that Sect, presented himself to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended *Colchester*.

The Protestation that the secluded Members had published and caused to be Printed, with the Narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all Acts to be void which from that time had been done in the House of Commons, made a great noise over the Kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the House, than it did the Officers of the Army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the House likewise made a Declaration against that Protestation; and declared it, “to be False, Scandalous, and Seditious, “and tending to the destruction of the visible and “Fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and to this wonderful Declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small House of Peers, and jointly ordained, “that that Protestation should be suppressed, “and that no Man should presume to sell, or buy, or “to read the same.”

The Protestation of the secluded Members

Voted against by both Houses.

When they had in this manner mastered all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to

Votes of the House of Commons.

B O O K
XI.

consult what they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, and to establish some Affirmative conclusions, as they had done Negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of Government, under which the Nation was to live: there had been much Treasure and Blood spent to recover the liberty of the People, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the public Peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all Men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate Undertakings."

They resolved to gratify the Army, by taking a view of a Paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new Government, which was called *the Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitators had been, by *Cromwell's* directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the Parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the People and the Army, "that they would put an end to the Parliament on the last day of *April* next; and that there should be a Representative of the Nation, consisting of three hundred Persons chosen by the People; of which, for the Term of seven years, no Person who had adhered to the King, or who should oppose this Agreement, or not Subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the Election; and that, before that time,

“ and before the Dissolution of the present Parlia-
 “ ment, it would be necessary to bring those signal
 “ Delinquents, who had lately disturbed the Quiet
 “ and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to so great
 “ an expense of Blood and Treasure, to exemplary
 “ punishment.” And it was with great impudence
 very vehemently urged, “ that they ought to begin
 “ with Him who had been the cause of all the misfe-
 “ ries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the King-
 “ dom, and whom they had already divested of all
 “ Power and Authority to govern them for the fu-
 “ ture; and they had had near two years experience,
 “ that the Nation might be very happily governed
 “ without any recourse to him: that they had already
 “ declared, and the House of Peers had concurred
 “ with them, that the King had been the cause of all
 “ the Blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that
 “ it was fit that such a Man of Blood should be
 “ brought to Justice, that he might undergo the
 “ penalty that was due to his Tyranny and Murders:
 “ that the People expected This at their hands; and
 “ that having the principal Malefactor in their power,
 “ he might not escape the punishment that was due
 “ to him.”

How new and monstrous soever this language and
 discourse was to all *English* Ears, they found a Major
 part still to concur with them: so that they appointed
 a Committee for the present “ to prepare a charge of
 “ High-Treason against the King, which should con-
 “ tain the several Crimes, and Misdemeanours of his
 “ Reign; which being made, they would consider of

A Committee
 appointed by
 them to pre-
 pare a Charge
 against the
 King.

B O O K “ the best way and manner of Proceeding, that he
 XI. “ might be brought to Justice.

The Prince
 of Wales
 desires the
 States to
 intercede
 with the two
 Houses.

This manner of proceeding in *England* was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any Body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain, the Prince was in, would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of *Holland* were from wishing that success, and honor to the Crown of *England*, as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favored the Rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in *England*, would be so universally odious to all Christians, that no Body of Men would appear to favor it. His Highness therefore sent to the States - General, to desire them “ to give him an Audience the next day; and “ that he would come to the place where they sat;” which he did, being met by the whole Body at the bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they sat.

The Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had said a little to the States of Compliment, he referred them to a paper which Sir *William Boswell*, the King's Resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper described the ill condition the King his Father was in; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest

reproach and obloquy upon the Protestant Religion, that ever Christianity had undergone: And therefore desired them, “that they would interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as they thought fit, with the two Houses at *Westminster*, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal Father; for the observation whereof his Royal Highness would become bound.

B O O K
XI.

The States assured his Highness, “that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be glad any interposition of Theirs might be able to relieve him; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might serve him.” And, that day, they resolved to send an extraordinary Ambassador into *England*, who should repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Instructions to what Friends of the King’s he should resort, and consult with; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of *Paw*, the Pensioner of *Holland*, for their Ambassador; who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many professions of his desire that his Journey might produce some good Effect.

Their Answer.

The Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Paw* as a Man that had always favored the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obstructed all Civilities from the States towards the King, as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that He was made choice of for Ambassador in such a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* assured

B O O K the Prince, "that he had used all his credit to compass
 XI. "that Election; that he was the Wifest Man of their
 "Body; and that neither He, nor any of the rest,
 "who had cherished the *English* Rebellion more
 "than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree
 "it had done, as to endanger the changing the Go-
 "vernment;" and therefore wished "there might
 "not appear any distrust of him, but that the Prince
 "would treat him with confidence, and some of the
 "Council would confer with him with freedom,
 "upon any particulars which it would be necessary
 "for him to be instructed in." But the wisdom of
 Angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice
 for such a Negotiation, since the States could not be
 brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any
 Menaces to the Parliament, as if they would embark
 themselves in the quarrel. So that the Council could
 only wish, "that the Ambassador would confer with
 "such of the King's Friends who were then at *London*,
 "and whose relation had been most eminent towards
 "his Majesty; and receive advice from them, how
 "he might most hopefully prevail over particular
 "Men, and thereby with the Parliament." And so the
 Ambassador departed for *England*, within less than a
 week after he was nominated for the Employment.

They send an
 Ambassador
 into England.

The Queen
 sent a Paper to
 be delivered
 to the Parlia-
 ment, but it
 was laid aside.

At the same time, the Queen of *England*, being
 struck to the heart with amazement and confusion
 upon the report of what the Parliament intended, sent
 a Paper to the Agent who was employed there by the
 Cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she
 obliged him to deliver to the Parliament. The Paper
 contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad

condition the King her Husband was in; desiring
 “ that they would grant her a Pass to come over to
 “ him, offering to use all the credit she had with him,
 “ that he might give them satisfaction. However, if
 “ they would not give her leave to perform any of
 “ those Offices towards the Public, that she might
 “ be permitted to perform the Duty she owed Him,
 “ and to be near him in the uttermost Extremity.”

Neither of these Addresses did more than express the Zeal of those who procured them to be made: the Ambassador *Paw* could neither get leave to see the King (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do) nor be admitted to an Audience by the Parliament, till after the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen's Paper was delivered, and never considered in order to return any Answer to it.

When the Committee had prepared such a Charge, which they called “an Impeachment of High-Treason against *Charles Stewart* King of *England*,” digested into several Articles, which contained all those Calumnies they had formerly heaped up in that Declaration of no more Addresses to be made to him, with some Additional Reproaches, it was read in the House; and, after it was approved there, they sent it to the House of Peers for Their concurrence, That House had very little to do from the time that *Cromwell* returned from *Scotland*, and were few in Number, and used to Adjourn for two or three days together for want of business; so that it was believed, that they who had done so many extravagant things, rather than they would dissent from the House of

The Charge
 against the
 King approved by the
 Commons.

B O O K
XI.

Rejected by
the Lords ;
who ad-
journed for
a week.

The Door of
their House
locked up
against the
day to which
they had
adjourned.

Commons, would likewise concur with them in This, rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was so ill received, that there was not one Person who concurred with them ; which, considering the Men and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had, with some warmth rejected it, they Adjourned for a week ; presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that Career which the House of Commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceived in this ; the House of Commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourned their House, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with Padlocks, that there should then be no more Entrance for them ; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers above twice or thrice at most, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a House of Peers of his own Creation ; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The Charge and Accusation, upon which they resolved to proceed against the King, being thus settled and agreed upon, they begun to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of Justice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law, which could direct or war-

B O O K
XL.

rant them; nor could the Precedent of deposing *Richard* the second (the sole Precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose: for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a Resignation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; so that his Deposition proceeded from Himself, and with his own Consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their Proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They constituted and erected a Court that should be called "*the High-Court of Justice*, to consist of so many Judges, who should have Authority to try the King, whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no; and, in order thereunto, to examine such Witnesses as should be produced:" the Number of the Judges named was about a hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might proceed.

The Commons constitute a High-Court of Justice.

They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own Members to be Judges in this case, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a War, though defensive, as they pretended, against the King, and so not so fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage

B O O K
XI.

themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolved, that the Judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of Members of the House, as of such other of their good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of Conscience, or of Fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another Man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themselves.

All the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and such Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, as had been most violent against Peace, and some few Country-Gentlemen, whose Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cause, and who were like to take such a Preferment as a testimony of the Parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who should be called *Lord-President* of that High-Court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witnesses all proper Questions, and answer what the Prisoner should propose. And to that Office one *Bradshaw* was chosen, a Lawyer of *Grays-Inn*, not much known in *Westminster-Hall*, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employed by the Faction. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheshire*.

Bradshaw
made Lord
President.

and *Lancashire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surpris'd, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo so important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was press'd with more importunity than could have been us'd by chance, he required "time to consider of it;" and said, "he would then give his final Answer;" which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard assigned for the security of his Person, and the Dean's House at *Westminster* given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an Equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord-President of the High-Court of Justice, seemed to be the greatest Magistrate in *England*. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such Declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that they believed that Office was not to be looked upon as necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that he who executed it, deserved to have an ample and a liberal Estate conferred

B O O K

XI.

Lawyers and
other Officers
appointed.

B O O K
XI.

“ upon him for ever:” which sudden mutation and exaltation of fortune, could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no

but acquainted only with a very moderate this being done, they made choice of some Lawyers (till that time very obscure, and Men scarce known or heard of in their profession) to perform the Offices of Attorney-General, and Solicitor General for the State, to prosecute the Prisoner at his Trial, and to manage the Evidence against him. Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several Offices of their new Court; which was ordered to be erected in *Westminster-Hall*.

The King
sent for from
Hurst-Castle
by *Harrison*.
The Cha-
racter of
Harrison.

The King was now sent for from *Hurst-Castle*, and was received by Colonel *Harrison* with a strong Party of Horse; by whom he was to be conducted to *Windsor-Castle*. *Harrison* was the Son of a Butcher near *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in those parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the language and practice of Business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the Person, inclines young Men to more pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have the Skill to conceal it from their Masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master (who had relation to the King's Service, and discharged his Duty faithfully) and put himself into the Parliament-Army, where, having first obtained the
Office

Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new-model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his Clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse, and looked upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any Address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an Escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windsor*, and so to pass by *Bagshot*, the King expressed a desire to see his little Park at *Bagshot*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately Married the Lady *Aubigny*, lived there; and said, "he would send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for

B O O K
XI.

“ him.” *Harrison* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

Both Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Aubigney* had been killed at *Edge-hill*, having so far incensed the Parliament, that she had endured a long Imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discovered by Mr. *Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Chaloner* had been put to death, and had likewise herself been put to death, if she had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, she had, with the King’s approbation, married the Lord *Newburgh*; who had the same Affections. They had, from the time of the King’s being at *Hampton-Court*, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the Letters which passed between the King and the Queen, passed through their hands; who had likewise a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of Importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from *Hurst-Castle*, and advised him “ to find some way, that he might dine at the “ Lodge at *Bagshot*; and that he should take occa-

“ fion, if he could, to lame the Horfe he rode upon,
 “ or to find fuch fault with his going, that he might
 “ take another Horfe out of the Lord *Newburgh's*
 “ Stables to continue the reft of his Journey upon.”
 That Lord much delighted in Horfes, and had, at
 that time, in his Stables one of the fleeteft that was
 in *England*; and the purpofe was, to mount the King
 upon that Horfe, that, when he found a fit oppor-
 tunity, he might, upon the fudden, fet Spurs to
 him; and if he could get out of the Company that
 encompassed him, he might, poffibly, by the swift-
 nefs of his Horfe, and his own fkill in the moft ob-
 fcure ways of that Forest, convey himfelf to another
 place in their view; and fo, three or four good Hor-
 fes were laid in feveral places. And this was the rea-
 fon that the King had fo earneftly infifted upon dining
 at *Bagshot*; which being in his way, and his custom
 being always to dine, they could not reasonably
 deny him that liberty.

Before the King came thither, *Harrifon* had fent
 fome Horfe with an Officer to fearch the Houfe, and
 all about the Park, that he might be fure that no
 Company lurked, which might make fome attempt.
 And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the
 going of his Horfe; and faid, “ he would change it,
 “ and procure a better.” When his Majesty came
 to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was
 quickly informed, “ that the Horfe fo much depend-
 “ ed upon, was, the day before, by the blow of
 “ another Horfe, fo lamed, that he could not be of
 “ ufe to the purpofe he was defigned for.” And
 though that Lord had other good Horfes, which in

The King
 dines at the
 Lord New-
 burgh's;
 where was an
 intention of
 making the
 King's
 Escape, but
 in vain.

B O O K

XI.

The King
brought to
St. James'.

such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observed so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred Horse, the Officers all exceedingly well Horfed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And *Harrison* had already told him, "that he had provided " a better Horse for him:" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the Lord *Newburgh's*. So that after having spent three or four hours there, with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any Room without the Company of six or seven Soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken, except it was so loud that They could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode some miles in the Forest to wait upon the King, till he was required by *Harrison* to return. His Majesty lodged that night at his Castle of *Windsor*, and was soon after carried to St. *James'*. In this Journey, *Harrison* observing that the King had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to Murder him, and had once let fall some words of " the odiousness " and wickedness of such an Affassination and Murder, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it;" he told him plainly, " that he " needed not to entertain any such imagination or " apprehension; that the Parliament had too much " Honor and Justice to cherish so foul an intention;" and assured Him, " that whatever the Parliament

“ resolved to do, would be very Public, and in a way
 “ of Justice; to which the World should be Witness;
 “ and would never endure a thought of secret Vio-
 “ lence:” which his Majesty could not persuade
 himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst
 ever produce him in the sight of the People, under
 any form whatsoever of a public Trial.

It hath been acknowledged since by some Officers, and others who were present at the Consultations, that from the time of the King’s being at *Hampton-Court*, and after the Army had mastered both the Parliament and the City, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret Consults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, “ they
 “ should never be able to settle their new form of
 “ Government, whilst He lived: and after he was
 become a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, they were
 more solicitous for a Resolution and Determination
 in that particular: and after the Vote of no more
 Addresses, the most violent Party thought “ they
 could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He
 “ should be first dead; and therefore, one way or
 “ other, that was to be compassed in the first place.”
 Some were for “ an actual Deposing him; which
 “ could not but be easily brought to pass, since the
 “ Parliament would Vote any thing they should be
 “ directed: Others were for the taking away his Life
 “ by Poison;” which would make least noise; or,
 “ if that could not be so easily contrived, by Assassi-
 “ nation; for which there were hands enough ready
 “ to be employed.” There was a Third sort, as

The several
 Consultations
 before and
 after this time
 among the
 Officers what
 to do with
 the King:

B O O K
XI.

violent as either of the other, who pressed “to have
“ him brought to a public Trial as a Malefactor ;”
which, they said, “ would be most for the Honor of
“ the Parliament, and would teach all Kings to know,
“ that they were accountable, and punishable for
“ the wickedness of their Lives.”

Many of the Officers were of the first opinion, “ as
“ a thing they had Precedents for ; and that he being
“ once Deposed, they could better settle the Govern-
“ ment than if he were dead ; for his Son could pre-
“ tend no Right whilst He was alive ; whereas, if
“ the Father were dead, he would presently call him-
“ self King, and others would call him so too ; and,
“ it may be, other Kings and Princes would own
“ him for such. If he were kept alive in a close Prison,
“ he might afterwards be made use of, or removed
“ upon any appearance of a Revolution.”

There were as many Officers of the second Judge-
ment, “ that he should be presently despatched.”
They said, “ it appeared by the experience they had,
“ that whilst He was alive (for a more strict Impri-
“ sonment than he had undergone, he could never
“ be confined to) there would be always Plots and
“ Designs to set him at Liberty ; and he would have
“ Parties throughout the Kingdom ; and, in a short
“ time, a Faction in their most secret Councils, and
“ it may be in the Army itself ; and, where his Li-
“ berty would yield so great a Price, it would be too
“ great a Trust to repose in any Man, that he would
“ long resist the Temptation. Whereas, if he were
“ confessedly dead, all those fears would be over ;
“ especially if they proceeded with that circumspec-

“ tion and severity towards all his Party , as in pru-
 “ dence they ought to do.” This Party might pro-
 bably have carried it, if *Hammond* could have been
 wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too
 much Conscience to expose himself to that Infamy;
 and without His privity or connivance it could not
 be done.

The third Party, which were all the Levellers and
 Agitators of the Army, in the head of which *Ireton*
 and *Harrison* were, would not endure either of the
 other ways; and said, “ they could as easily bring
 “ him to Justice in the sight of the Sun , as Depose
 “ him; since the Authority of the Parliament could
 “ do one as well as the other: That their Precedent
 “ of Deposing, had no reputation with the People;
 “ but was looked upon as the effect of some potent
 “ Faction, which always oppressed the People more
 “ after, than they had been before. Besides, those
 “ Deposings had always been attended with Affassi-
 “ nations and Murders, which were the more odious
 “ and detested, because no body owned and avowed
 “ the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were
 “ brought to a public Trial, for the notorious ill
 “ things he had done, and for his Misgovernment,
 “ upon the complaint and prosecution of the People,
 “ the Superiority of the People would be hereby vin-
 “ dicated and made manifest; and They should re-
 “ ceive the benefit, and be for ever free from those
 “ oppressions which he had imposed upon them,
 “ and for which he ought to pay so dear; and such
 “ an exemplary Proceeding and Execution as This,
 “ where every circumstance should be clear and no-

B O O K
 XI.

B O O K
XI.

Concluded to
have him
publicly
tried.

“ torious, would be the best foundation and security
“ of the Government they intended to establish; and
“ no Man would be Ambitious to succeed Him, and
“ be a King in his place, when he saw in what manner
“ he must be accountable to the People.” This Argu-
mentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that
Party, carried it: and, hereupon, all that formality of
proceeding, which afterwards was exercised, was
resolved upon and consented to.

Whether the incredibility, or monstrosity of
such a kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds
of Men, or whether the principal Actors took pains,
by their Insinuations, to have it so believed, it fell
out however that they among them who wished the
King best, and stood nearest to the Stage where these
parts were acted, did not believe that there were
those Horrid Intentions that shortly after appeared.
The Preachers, who had sounded the Trumpets loud-
est to, and throughout the War, Preached now as
furiously against all wicked Attempts and Violence
against the Person of the King, and foolishly urged
the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had
involved him in all the danger he was in) for the secu-
rity of his Person.

The Prince
sends a Letter
to Fairfax and

As soon as the Prince heard of the King's being
carried by *Harrison* to *Windsor*, and from thence to
St. James's, though he had lately sent a Servant on
purpose to see his Majesty, and to bring him an Ac-
count of the State he was in, which Servant was not
permitted to see him, he sent now another with a
Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew
the Parliament had no Authority) in which he told

them, “ that he had no other means to be informed
 “ of the health and condition of the King his Royal
 “ Father, but by the Common-Prints, and general
 “ Intelligences that arrived in those Parts: He had
 “ reason by those to believe, that after the expiration
 “ of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight* (where he hoped
 “ the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his
 “ Majesty had been carried to *Hurst*-Castle; and
 “ since, by some Officers of the Army, to *Windsor*,
 “ not without purpose of a more violent prosecution;
 “ the rumor whereof, though of so monstrous and
 “ incredible a Nature, had called upon his Piety to
 “ make this Address to them; who had at this time
 “ the power to chuse, whether they would raise last-
 “ ing Monuments to themselves of Loyalty and
 “ Piety, by restoring their Sovereign to his just
 “ Rights, and their Country to Peace and Happiness,
 “ a Glory which had been seldom absolutely vouch-
 “ safed to so small a number of Men, or to make
 “ themselves the Authors of endless Misery to the
 “ Kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an Act
 “ which all Christians, into how different opinions
 “ soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsist-
 “ ent with the Elements of any Religion, and de-
 “ structive to the Security and being of any kind of
 “ Government: He did therefore earnestly desire and
 “ conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and pro-
 “ digious disproportion in that Election; and then,
 “ he said, “ he could not doubt but that they would
 “ chuse to do that which is most Just, Safe, and Ho-
 “ norable for them to do; make themselves the blest
 “ Instrument to Preserve, Defend, and Restore their

B O O K

XI.

Which was
read in the
Council of
war, and
laid aside.

The usage of
the King at
St. James'.

He is brought
to West-
minster-Hall.
Jan. 20.

“ King ; to whom only their Allegiance was due; by
“ which every one of them might justly promise to
“ themselves peace of Conscience, the singular good
“ Will and Favor of his Majesty, the ample thanks
“ and acknowledgment of all good Men, and the
“ particular and unalterable Affection of the Prince
“ himself.” This Letter was, with much ado, deli-
vered into the hands of *Fairfax* himself; but the Mes-
senger could never be admitted to speak with him;
nor was there more known, than that it was read in
the Council of War, and laid aside.

From the time of the King's being come to *St. James'*, when he was delivered into the hands and custody of Colonel *Tomlinson*, a Colonel of Foot, though the Officer seemed to be a Man of a better breeding, and of a Nature more Civil than *Harrison*, and pretended to pay much Respect and Duty to the King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majesty, after a short time, was treated with more Rudeness and Barbarity than he had ever been before. They were so jealous of their own Guards, lest they should be wrought upon by the influence of this Innocent Prince, or by the remorse of their own Conscience upon the exercise of so much Barbarity, that they caused the Guards to be still changed; and the same Men were never suffered twice to perform the same monstrous Duty.

When He was first brought to *Westminster-Hall*, which was upon the twentieth of *January*, before their *High-Court of Justice*, he looked upon them, and sat down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his Hat; all the impudent Judges sitting

B O O K

XI.

The Sum of
his Charge.

covered, and fixing their Eyes upon him, without the least show of respect. The odious Libel, which they called a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contained, “ that he had been admitted King of *England*, and “ trusted with a limited Power to Govern according “ to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, was obliged “ to use the Power committed to him for the good “ and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of “ a wicked design to erect to himself an Illimited and “ Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights “ and Liberties of the People, Traitorously levied “ War against the present Parliament, and the Peo- “ ple therein represented.” And then it mentioned his first appearance at *York* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverley*, then his setting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle had been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other several Battles which had been fought in his Presence; “ in which,” it said, “ He had caused “ and procured many thousands of the Free-born “ People of the Nation to be slain: that after all his “ Forces had been defeated, and Himself become a “ Prisoner, he had, in that very year, caused many “ Insurrections to be made in *England*, and given a “ Commission to the Prince his Son to raise a new “ War against the Parliament; whereby many who “ were in their Service, and trusted by them, had “ revolted, broken their Trust, and betook them- “ selves to the Service of the Prince against the Par- “ liament and the People: that he had been the Au- “ thor and Contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and

BOOK
XI.

“ bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, Defolations, Damage, and Mischief to the Nation, which had been committed in the said War, or been occasioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *England*, as a Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer, and a public implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*.” And it was prayed, “ that he might be put to Answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an Examination, Trial, and Judgment, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to Justice.”

What passed
the first day
of his Trial.

Which being read, their President *Bradshaw*, after he had insolently reprehended the King “ for not having showed more respect to that High Tribunal,” told him, “ that the Parliament of *England* had appointed that Court to try him for the several Treasons, and Misdemeanours, which he had committed against the Kingdom during the evil Administration of his Government; and that, upon the Examination thereof, Justice might be done. And, after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the King, “ what Answer he had to make to that Impeachment.”

The King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, “ he would first know of them, by what Authority they presumed by force to bring him before them; and who gave them power to judge of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but God, though they had been always such as he need not

“ be ashamed to own them before all the world. He
“ told them, that He was their King, They his Sub-
“ jects; who owed him Duty and Obedience: that
“ no Parliament had Authority to call him before
“ them; but that They were not the Parliament, nor
“ had any Authority from Parliament to sit in that
“ manner: That of all the Persons who sat there, and
“ took upon them to judge him, except those Persons
“ who being Officers of the Army he could not
“ but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them,
“ there were only two Faces which he had ever seen
“ before, or whose names were known to him. And,
after urging “ their Duty, that was due to him, and
“ his Superiority over them,” by such lively Reasons,
and Arguments, as were not capable of any Answer,
he concluded, “ that he would not so much betray
“ himself, and his Royal Dignity, as to Answer any
“ thing they objected against him, which were to
“ acknowledge their Authority; though he believed
“ that every one of Themselves, as well as the Spec-
“ tators, did, in their own Consciences, absolve
“ him from all the Material things which were ob-
“ jected against him.”

Bradshaw advised him, in a very arrogant manner,
“ not to deceive himself with an opinion that any
“ thing he had said would do him any good: that the
“ Parliament knew their own Authority, and would
“ not suffer it to be called in question or debated:”
therefore required him, “ to think better of it, against
“ he should be next brought thither, and that he
“ would Answer directly to his Charge; otherwise,
“ he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what

B O O K
XI.

“ Judgment the Law pronounced against those who stood Mute, and obstinately refused to plead.” So the Guard carried his Majesty back to St. *James*; where they treated him as before.

Disturbance in
the Court by
the Lady Fair-
fax the Gene-
ral's wife.

There was an accident happened that first day, which may be fit to be remembered. When all those who were Commissioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their Commission; which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the Trial; and then the Judges were all called, every Man answering to his name as he was called, and the President being first called and making Answer, the next who was called being the General, Lord *Fairfax*, and no Answer being made, the Officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, “ he had more Wit than to be there;” which put the Court into some disorder, and some body asking, who it was, there was no other Answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the Impeachment was read, and that expression used, of “ All the good People of *England*,” the same voice in a louder tone, Answered, “ No, nor the hundredth part of them:” upon which, one of the Officers bid the Soldiers give fire into that Box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who had uttered both those sharp sayings; who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble Extraction, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury*; who, having been bred in *Holland*, had not that reverence for the

Church of *England*, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her Husband's entering into Rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the Kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any Body could do, and did all she could to hinder her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody Court, though he was throughout overwitted by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many Persons present at that woeful Spectacle a real Duty and Compassion for the King, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him Tyrant, and Murderer; and one spit in his Face; which his Majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his Handkerchief.

The two Men who were only known to the King before the Troubles, were Sir *Harry Mildmay*, Master of the King's Jewel-House, who had been bred up in the Court, being younger Brother of a good Family in *Essex*, and who had been prosecuted with so great Favors and Bounties by King *James*, and by his Majesty, that he was raised by them to a great Estate, and preferred to that Office in his House, which is the best under those which entitle the Officers to be of the privy-Council. No Man more obsequious to the Court than He, whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all Persons in Authority, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurred with those who were most violent against the Court, and most like to prevail against it; and

Sir H. Mildmay and Sir John Danvers the only two Persons the King knew besides the Officers of the Army.

B O O K
XI.

being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes Men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the Murderers of his Master. The other was Sir *John Danvers*, the younger Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being seduced and a Seducer, became so far involved in their Counsels that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst Offices, taking it to be a high honor to sit upon the same Bench with *Cromwell*, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that Party of Miscreants, look upon any two Men in the Kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon *Danvers*, and *Mildmay*.

A Summary
passing over
the rest of the
King's Trial.

The several unheard of insolencies which this excellent Prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majestic behaviour, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest Authorities in the Law, as well as by the clearest deductions from Reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent Person in the world, the Execution of that Sentence by the most execrable Murder that was ever committed since that of our Blessed Saviour; and the circumstances thereof; the Application and Interposition that was used by some noble Persons to prevent that woeful Murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was eluded, the

the Saint-like behaviour of that Blessed Martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a Treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the Reader, and make the Relation itself odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that deplorable Tragedy, so much to the dishonor of the Nation, and the Religion professed in it, though undeservedly.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short Character of his Person, that Posterity may know the inestimable loss which the Nation then underwent, in being deprived of a Prince whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the most strict Laws can have. To speak first of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Virtues; He was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an Honest Man; so great a lover of Justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of Nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the Public, that flowed from such his Indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either Murders, or Highway-Robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful Reformation of those Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his

His Character.

His Justice and Mercy.

B O O K

XI.

His Devotion
and Religion.

Devotions; he was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never so early in the Morning, before he had been at Public Prayers; so that on Hunting-days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private Cabinet-Devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane word, with what sharpness of Wit soever it was covered; and though he was well pleased, and delighted with reading Verses made upon any occasion, no Man durst bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then.

His Conjugal
Chastity.

He was so great an Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their Liberty; and he did not only permit, but direct his Bishops, to prosecute those scandalous Vices, in the Ecclesiastical Courts, against Persons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

He was not
very bountiful.

His Kingly Virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindered them from shining in full Lustre, and from producing those Fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of *Buckingham's* death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept State to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw, and observed Men long, before he

He kept State
in his Court.

received them about his Person; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient hearer of Causes; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the Council-Board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to Causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of Men's humors made dilatory in Courts of Justice.

B O O K

XI.

Patient in
hearing
Causes.

He was very fearless in his Person; but, in his riper years, not very Enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him often times change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of Men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the tenderness of his Conscience; which, in all cases of Blood, made him chuse the softer way, and not hearken to severe Counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first *Scottish* Expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that Nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wished. But no Man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scottish* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and besieged by them

Fearless, not
EnterprisingNot confident
in his own
judgment.Lover of the
Scottish Na-
tion.

B O O K always, having few *English* about him till he was
XI. King; and the major number of his Servants being still
 so that Nation, who he thought could never fail him.
 And among these, no Man had such an Ascendant
 over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke
Hamilton had.

Abhorred
 Debauchery.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, so in Temper-
 ance he was so strict, that he abhorred all Debauchery
 to that degree, that, at a great Festival Solemnity,
 where he once was, when very many of the Nobility
 of the *English* and *Scots* were entertained, being told
 by one who withdrew from thence, what vast
 draughts of Wine they drank, and “that there was
 “one Earl, who had drank most of the rest down,
 “and was not himself moved or altered,” the King
 said, “that he deserved to be hanged;” and that Earl
 coming shortly after into the Room where his Ma-
 jesty was, in some gayety, to show how unhurt he
 was from that Battle, the King sent one to bid him
 withdraw from his Majesty’s Presence; nor did he in
 some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumstances contributed to
 his Ruin, that Men might well think that Heaven
 and Earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first
 Declension of his Power, so much betrayed by his
 own Servants, that there were very few who remained
 faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not
 always from any Treasonable purpose to do Him any
 harm, but from particular, and personal Animosities
 against other Men. And, afterwards, the terror all
 Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they
 were conscious of themselves, made them watch all

opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became Spies upon their Master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the Destruction of their Master. And after all this, when a Man might reasonably believe that less than a universal Defection of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murdered in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian, that the Age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest King, if he were without some Parts and Qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much without any kind of Vice.

Beloved by his
Subjects in
general when
he was Mur-
dered.
The Sum of
his Character.

This unparalleled Murder and Parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, according to the Account used in *England*, 1648, in the forty-and-ninth year of his Age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great Vigor of Body, that when his Murderers caused him to be opened (which they did; and were some of them present at it with great curiosity) they confessed, and declared,

B O O K
XI.

His Funeral.

“ that no Man had ever all his vital parts so perfect
“ and unhurt : and that he seemed to be of so admi-
“ rable a composition and constitution, that he would
“ probably have lived as long as nature could subsist.”

His Body was immediately carried into a Room at
White-Hall; where he was exposed for many days to
the public view, that all Men might know that he
was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put
into a Coffin, and so carried to *St. James'*; where he
likewise remained several days. They who were qua-
lified to order his Funeral, declared, “ that he should
“ be buried at *Windsor* in a decent manner, provided
“ that the whole Expence should not exceed five hun-
“ dred pounds.” The Duke of *Richmond*, the Mar-
quis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*,
who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very
faithful to him, desired those that governed, “ that
“ they might have leave to perform the last duty to
“ their dead Master, and to wait upon him to his
“ Grave;” which, after some pauses, they were per-
mitted to do, with this restriction, “ that they should
“ not attend the Corpse out of the Town; since they
“ resolved it should be privately carried to *Windsor*
“ without Pomp or noise, and then they should have
“ timely notice, that if they pleased, they might be
“ at his Interment.” And accordingly it was com-
mitted to four of those Servants, who had been by
them appointed to wait upon him during his Impri-
sonment, that they should convey the Body to *Wind-
sor*; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed
in that Chamber which had usually been his Bed-
Chamber : the next Morning, it was carried into the

great Hall ; where it remained till the Lords came ; who arrived there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Whitchcot*, the Governor of the Castle, and showed the Order they had from the Parliament to be present at the Burial ; which he admitted ; but when they desired that his Majesty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer-Book, the Bishop of *London* being present with them to Officiate, he positively and roughly refused to consent to it ; and said, “ it was not Law-
“ ful ; that the Common-Prayer-Book was put down,
“ and he would not suffer it to be used in that Garri-
“ son where He Commanded ;” nor could all the Reasons, Persuasions, and Intreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all Inscriptions, and those Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were : nor was there one old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had used to be interred. At last there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, “ there was a
“ Vault, in which King *Harry* the Eighth and Queen
“ *Jane Seymour* were interred.” As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the Grave to be made. There the King’s Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the Coffin was a plate of

B O O K Silver fixt with these words only, *King Charles* 1648.
XI. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in; which the Governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the Keys of the Church.

I have been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humors and fancies of Men, they who were in nearest Credit and Trust about the *King*, underwent many very severe Censures and Reproaches, not without reflection upon the *King* himself. Upon the Return of *King Charles* the Second with so much Congratulation, and universal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murder of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body should be removed from that obscure Burial, and, with such Ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his Royal Ancestors in *King Harry* the Seventh's Chapel in the Collegiate-Church of *Westminster*. And the *King* himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some Circumstances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of State, the ground whereof several Men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those Reproaches upon the Statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations, did not satisfy their understanding. For the

satisfaction and information of all Men, I chuse in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the King returned; the Marquis of *Hertford* died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his Lodging after his Majesty came to *White-Hall*: the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindsey* went to *Windfor*, and took with them such of their own Servants as had attended them in that Service, and as many others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small Number; there being, at the time of the Interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that Church, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, so totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was Interred: Yet, where any concurred upon this, or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such Inquiries, found no Cause to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther Inquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree satisfied their Malice, it had not enough provided for their Ambition or Security. They had no

B O O K
XI.

sooner freed themselves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And besides the old Royal Party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much Blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great Estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than his Father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a Proclamation, “that no Person

Proclamation
against
proclaiming
Charles
Stuart King.

“whatsoever should presume to declare *Charles Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly called the Prince of *Wales*, or any other Person, to be King, or Chief-Magistrate of *England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions belonging thereunto, by color of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other Claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this Act, presume to proclaim, &c. should be deemed and adjudged a Traitor, and suffer accordingly.”

In the next place, that their Infant-Republic might be Nursed, Cherished, and brought up by those only who had gotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take away and abolish the House of Peers; and Voted, “that they would make no farther Addresses

The Commons
abolish the
House of
Peers.

“to the House of Lords, nor receive any more from them: that the House of Peers, in Parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an Act should be brought in for abolishing it: that the Privilege of

“ the Peers of being freed from Arrests, should be
 “ declared null and void, all which was done with-
 “ in few days.” However, they declared, “ that the
 “ Peers should have the Privilege to be elected
 “ Knights, or Burgesſes ;” of which gracious Concef-
 ſion ſome of them took the benefit ſoon after, and ſat,
 upon their Election into vacant places, in the Houſe
 of Commons.

B O O K
 XI.

There remained yet another proviſion to be made
 againſt their own Ambition ; for it was well known,
 that there were yet amongſt them many who were
 not equally fond of a Common-wealth ;” and there-
 fore they declared, “ that it had been found by expe-
 “ rience, that the Office of a King in this Nation, or to
 “ have the Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon, was
 “ unneceſſary, burdensome, and dangerous to the
 “ Liberty, and Safety, and Public Intereſt of the Na-
 “ tion ; and therefore that it ſhould be utterly abo-
 “ liſhed ; and to that purpoſe an Act ſhould be forth-
 “ with prepared :” which was likewiſe done, and
 paſſed. And by this Triple-Chord they believed their
 Republic would be ſtrongly compacted, and ſuffi-
 ciently provided for.

Vote againſt
 the Office of
 Kingship.

Their new Great-Seal was by this time ready ;
 whereon was Engraven, on one ſide, the Arms of
England and Ireland, with this Inſcription, *The Great
 Seal of England* ; and on the other ſide the Portraiture
 of the Houſe of Commons Sitting, circumscribed, *In
 the firſt Year of Freedom by God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648.*
 The Cuſtody of this Great-Seal was committed to
 three Lawyers, whereof one had ſat among the King's
 Judges, and the others had contributed too much to

They made a
 new Great-
 Seal.

B O O K
XI.

their Service. All things being now in this good Order, they sent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, "that they were
" fully resolved to maintain, and uphold the Funda-
" mental Laws of the Nation, in order to the prefer-
" vation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the
" People, notwithstanding all the alterations made
" in the Government for the good of the People:" And the Writs were no more to run in the King's Name, as they had always done, but the Name, Style, and Test, to be *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, Autoritate Parliamenti*. If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believed, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the War, to the Authority that governed, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept Commissions from the new Established Power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the Conscience of Men who have once departed from the Rule of Conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

Six of their
own Judges
give up.

How some
Neighbouring
Princes took
the King's
Murder.

It will be requisite, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, with what Countenance the Kings and Princes of *Christendom* had their Eyes fixed upon this sad and bloody Spectacle: how they looked upon that issue of Blood, at which their own seemed to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their Hearts labored to see the Impious Hands of the low-est and basest Subjects bathing in the Bowels, and

reeking Blood of their Sovereign ; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a Malefactor ; what Combination, and Union was entered into, to take vengeance upon those Monsters, and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas ! there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it ; but, as if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered, and peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a Nation meted out, and trodden down, whose Lands the Rivers have spoiled*, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the Spoils of a Murdered-Monarch.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who, in the Infancy of the *French* King, managed that Sceptre, had long adored the Conduct of *Cromwell*, and sought his Friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a Cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchase of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown ; of which he purchased the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furnished his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain* had, from the beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, who had been his Ambassador to the King, residing still at *London* ; and He had, upon several occasions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and several Treaties on foot ; and as soon as this dismal Murder was over, that Ambassador, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being sent in Ships to the *Corruna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid*

B O O K
XI.

upon eighteen Mules. *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* purchased the choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and some Pictures of a great price, and received the Parliament's Agent with great Joy, and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who was Governor of *Flanders*, disbursed a great Sum of Money for many of the best Pictures, which adorned the several Palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to *Brussels*, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*. In this manner did the Neighbour-Princes join to assist *Cromwell* with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute, and finish his wicked Victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish Monarchy in this renowned Kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the Ruins and Spoils of the surviving Heir, without applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greatest necessities which ever King was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this (since most Men, by recovering their fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the Robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true Owner) not one of all these Princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King, after his blessed Restoration.

Whilst these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their Sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as necessary to the Establishment of their new Tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time *England* should

“ be governed as a Common-wealth by the Parlia-
 “ ment;” that is, by that handful of Men, who by
 their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful
 alteration. And because the number of those appeared
 very small, and the number of those they had exclu-
 ded was as visible, they made an Order and Declara-
 tion, “ that as many of the Members who had been
 “ excluded, as would, under their hands, approve
 “ all that had been done during the time they were
 “ excluded, should return to their Seats in the House
 “ without any prejudice for the future.” Hereupon
 divers went again into the House, satisfying them-
 selves that they were not guilty of the Innocent
 Royal Blood that had been spilt; and so their num-
 ber increased. They had made a new Great-Seal, as
 hath been said, and called the Commissioners, who
 were intrusted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers*
of the Liberties of England. And the Court of King’s
 Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed
 certain Persons to consider of such alterations as were
 necessary to be made in the Laws of *England*, in regard
 of so important a mutation. That they might have
 some obligation of obedience from their Subjects for
 the future, who had broken all the former Oaths
 which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and
 established, which they called an *Engagement*; the
 form whereof was, that every Man should swear,
 “ that he would be true and faithful to the Govern-
 “ ment established without King or House of Peers:”
 and whosoever refused to take that Engagement
 should be incapable of holding any Place, or Office
 in Church or State. The necessity of taking which

An Oath
 imposed
 called the
 Engagement.

B O O K Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party,
XI. but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And so they filled many considerable places both in the one, and the other, with Men thoroughly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the Kingdom, terrified the People with Blood-Spectacles, in the executing many of the Persons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of *England*, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental Laws of the Land were, a new High-Court of Justice was appointed to sit for the Trial of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and another Gentleman, one Sir *John Owen* (who, having been heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late Insurrection in *Wales*, killed the High-Sheriff) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greatest Lord and the Commoners should undergo the same Judiciary, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the Creations of the Crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the Crown itself had been subjected.

A new High-Court of Justice sits; and several Trials before them.

Duke *Hamilton* first tried.

Duke *Hamilton* could not well be thought other than a Prisoner of War, and so not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Escape; in which he had so well succeeded, that he
 was

was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horse in *South-wark*; and carried Prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High-Court of Justice. He insisted upon “the Right
“and Privilege of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: that
“it had not the least Dependance upon the Kingdom
“of *England*, but was entirely Governed by its own
“Laws: that He, being a Subject of that Kingdom,
“was bound to obey the Commands thereof; and the
“Parliament of that Kingdom having thought it ne-
“cessary to raise an Army for the relief of their King,
“and constituted Him General of that Army, it was
“not Lawful for him to refuse the Command thereof;
“and whatever misfortune he had undergone with
“it, he could not be understood to be liable to any
“punishment but what a Prisoner of War was bound
“to undergo.” He was told, “that the Rights and
“Laws of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were not called
“in Question, nor could be violated by Their pro-
“ceedings against Him, who was a Subject of *England*;
“against which he was charged with Rebellion and
“Treason: that they did not proceed against him as
“Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as Earl of *Cambridge*
“in *England*, and they would judge him as such.” Then the Earl
The Earl of *Holland* was not at that time in a good of *Holland*.
disposition of Health, and so Answered little, as a
Man that would rather receive his life by their favor,
than from the strength of his defence. The Earl of
The Earl of *Norwich* behaved himself with great submission to the *Norwich*.
Court, and with all those Addresses as were most

B O O K like to reconcile his Judges to him, and to prevail
XI. over their Affections: spoke of “his being bred up
 “in the Court, from his Cradle, in the time of Queen
 “*Elizabeth*; of his having been a Servant to King
 “*James* all his Reign; of his dependance upon Prince
 “*Harry*; afterwards, upon the late King; of the
 “obligations he had to the Crown, and of his Endea-
 “vours to serve it; and concluded as a Man that
 would be beholding to them if they would give him
 leave to live.

The Lord
 Capel.

The Lord *Capel* appeared undaunted, and utterly re-
 fused to submit to their jurisdiction; that in the condi-
 “tion and capacity of a Soldier and a Prisoner of War,
 “he said, the Lawyers and Gownmen had nothing
 “to do with him, and therefore would not Answer
 “to any thing which they had said against him” (*Steel*
 having treated him with great rudeness and inso-
 lence) but insisted upon “the Law of Nations, which
 “exempted all Prisoners, though submitting to
 “Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within
 “so many days; which were long since expired.” He
 urged “the Declaration which *Fairfax* the General
 had made to Him, and the rest of the Prisoners,
 “after the death of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George*
 “*Lisle*, that no other of their Lives should be in
 “danger, which he had Witnesses ready to prove,
 “if they might be admitted;” and concluded, “that,
 “if he had committed any Offence worthy of death,
 “he might be tried by his Peers; which was his
 “Right by the Laws of the Land; the benefit where-
 “of he required.” *Ireton*, who was present, and sat
 as one of his Judges, denied “that the General had

“ made any such promise, and if he had, that the
 “ Parliament’s Authority could not be restrained
 “ thereby ;” and put him in mind of his Carriage at
 that time, and how much he neglected then the General’s civility. The other insisted still on the promise; and urged “ that the General might be sent for, and
 “ examined ;” which they knew not how to deny, but, in regard of his indisposition of Health, they said
 “ they would send to him, whilst they proceeded
 “ against Sir John Owen, who was the other Prisoner.”

He Answered them without any application, “ that Sir John Owen
 “ he was a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had been
 “ always taught to obey the King; that he served him
 “ honestly during the War, and finding afterwards
 “ that many honest Men endeavoured to raise Forces,
 “ whereby they might get him out of Prison, He did
 “ the like ; and the High-Sheriff endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed : which he
 “ might have avoided if he had staid at home :” and concluded like a Man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him.

Whether the Question was well stated to *Fairfax*, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his Declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his Answer, that they would be of opinion, “ that
 “ he had not made such direct and positive promise ;
 “ and that the same was never transmitted to the
 “ Parliament ; which it ought to have been ; and
 “ that, at most, it could but exempt those Prisoners
 “ from being tried before a Court, or Council of War,
 “ and could not be understood as an obligation upon
 “ the Parliament, not to give direction to such a

B O O K
XI,

All five con-
demned,

“ legal Proceeding against them, as they should find
“ necessary for the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom.”
The President *Bradshaw* told the Lord *Capel*, with
many insolent expressions, “ that he was tried before
“ such Judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign
“ him;” and who had judged a better Man than
“ himself.” So the Sentence of death was pronounced
against all five of them, “ that they should lose their
“ heads;” upon which Sir *John Owen* made a low
reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and being
asked by a Stander by, “ what he meant?” he said
aloud, “ it was a very great honor to a poor Gentle-
“ man, of *Wales* to lose his head with such noble
“ Lords;” and swore a great Oath, “ that he was
“ afraid they would have hanged him.

The Prisoners were all carried to St. *James*’; where
they were to remain till their Execution two days
after; which time their Friends, and Relations, had
to endeavour to preserve their lives by the Power and
Authority of the Parliament; where there were so
many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon
them, and who were of several Affections, and liable
to several temptations, that there might be reason-
able hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust
Judgment. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends,
left no way untried to prevail; offered, and gave
Money to some who were willing to receive it, and
made promises accordingly. But they who had the
greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who
should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so
much more honestly than the rest, that they declared
to the Ladies, who solicited for their Husbands and

their Fathers, “ that they would not endeavour to
“ do them Service.” *Ireton*, above all Men, con-
tinued his insolent and dogged humor, and told
them, “ if He had credit, they should all die.” Others,
who, gave better Words, had no better Meaning
than he.

All their Petitions were read in order, being penned
in such Styles as the Friends, who solicited for them,
were advised. Duke *Hamilton*’s Petition being read,
many, upon the motives of Justice, and as they ima-
gined, his death might be the occasion of new
Troubles between the two Nations, since *Scotland*
could not but resent it, would have been willing he
should live. But he had fewer Friends to his Person
than any of the rest; and *Cromwell* knew well that his
being out of the way would not be unacceptable to
them upon whom the Peace of that Kingdom de-
pended: so that when his Petition was read, it was
rejected by very much the Major part of Voices.
The consideration of the Earl of *Holland* took up a
long debate: the Interest and Interposition of the
Earl of *Warwick*, his Brother, was applied; and
every Presbyterian, to a Man, was solicitous to
preserve him. They urged “ his merit towards the
“ Parliament in the beginning of the Troubles;
“ how much he had suffered in the Court for his
“ Affection to them: his Age, and Infirmities, which
“ would not suffer him long to enjoy that Life they
“ should give him: and the consideration of his
“ Wife, and Children, which were numerous.” But
these Arguments stirred up others, to inveigh against
his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to

B O O K
XI. undervalue the Services he had ever done ; to tax his Vanities , and his breach of Faith. When the Question was put concerning him , they who were for the Negative , exceeded the number of the other by three or four Votes ; *Cromwell* , having more than an ordinary Animosity against him , for his behaviour in the beginning of the Summer , and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The Earl of *Norwich* came next upon the stage ; who having always lived a cheerful and jovial Life , without contracting many Enemies , had many there who wished him well , and few who had Animosity against him ; so that when the Question was put concerning him , the House was equally divided , the Votes which rejected his Petition , and those which would preserve his Life , were equal : so that his Life or Death depended upon the single Vote of the Speaker ; who told the House , “ that he had “ received many obligations from that Lord ; and “ that once when he had been like to have incurred “ the King’s displeasure , by some misinformation , “ which would have been very penal to him , the Lord *Goring* (under which style he was treated , the additional of *Norwich* not being allowed by them upon their old Rule) “ had by his Credit preserved “ him , and removed the Prejudice that was against “ him ; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to “ give his Vote for the saving him .” By this good fortune he came to be preserved ; whether the ground of it were true or no , or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any Man’s Life who was put to ask it in that place.

The Lord *Capel*, shortly after he was brought Prisoner to the Tower from *Windsor-Castle*, had by a wonderful adventure, having a Chord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the Window of his Chamber in the night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the Ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the Water and the Mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he must have perished, since the Water came up to his Chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much Mud so intolerable, that his Spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the Prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God, that he got at last to the other side; where his Friends expected him, and carried him to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort, and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a Lodging for him in a private House in *Lambeth-Marsh*; and calling upon him in an Evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather

B O O K
XI.

to take any Boat they found ready at the Temple-Stairs, than to trust one of that People with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only Boat left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his Friend, put themselves, and bid the Water-man row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in their passage thither, the other Gentleman called him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiscerned, followed them, till he saw into what House they went; and then went to an Officer, and demanded, “ what “ he would give him to bring him to the place where “ the Lord *Capel* lay ? ” And the Officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the House, where that excellent Person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the Petition, that his Wife had delivered, was read, many Gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great Virtues which were in him; and “ that he had never deceived them, or pretend- “ ed to be of their Party; but always resolutely de- “ clared himself for the King : ” and *Cromwell*, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all Men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, “ that his Affections to the “ Public so much weighed down his private Friend- “ ship, that he could not but tell them, that the Ques- “ tion was now, whether they would preserve the “ most bitter and most implacable Enemy they had :

“ that he knew the Lord *Capel* very well, and knew
“ that he would be the last Man in *England* that
“ would forsake the Royal Interest; that he had great
“ Courage, Industry, and Generosity; that he had
“ many Friends who would always adhere to him;
“ and that as long as he lived, what condition soever
“ he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and
“ therefore, for the good of the Common-wealth,
“ he should give his Vote against the Petition.” *Ireton*’s Hatred was Immortal: he spake of him, and
against him, as of a Man of whom he was heartily
afraid. Very many were swayed by the Argument
that had been urged against Duke *Hamilton*, “ that
“ God was not pleased that he should Escape, be-
“ cause He had put him into their hands again, when
“ he was at liberty.” And so, after a long debate,
though there was not a Man who had not a value
for him, and very few who had a particular Malice,
or Prejudice towards him, the Question being put,
the Negative was more by three or four Voices: So
that, of the four Lords, three were without the
Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no
other Petition presented, *Ireton* told them, “ there
“ had been great Endeavours and Solicitation used
“ to save all those Lords; but that there was a Com-
“ moner, another condemned Person, for whom no
one Man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so
much as Petitioned them; and therefore he desired,
“ that Sir *John Owen* might be preserved by the
“ mere Motive, and goodness of the House itself;”
which found little opposition; whether they were
satiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by

B O O K
XI.

this Instance, that the Nobility should see that a Commoner should be preferred before them.

Duke Hamil-
ton behead-
ed, Mar. 9.

A Scaffold was erected before *Westminster-Hall*, and all the Prisoners condemned were brought from *St. James'* (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to suffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murder of the King, to *Sir Thomas Cotton's House*, at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the Hall to the Scaffold, *Duke Hamilton* being first; who seemed yet to have some hope of a Reprieve, and made some stay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the Scaffold. He complained much of "the injustice that was done him; and that he was
" put to death for obeying the Laws of his Country;
" which if he had not done, he must have been put
" to death there." He acknowledged the Obligations he had to the King, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a Wise man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual discourses of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both these mistakes were the Cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous Man, than in truth he deserved to be.

The Earl of
Holland the
same day.

The Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his Spirits served

not to entertain the People with long discourse. He spoke of "his Religion, as a matter unquestionable, " by the Education he had had in the Religious Family of which he was a branch:" which was thought a strange discourse for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's House, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by such an unseasonable Testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant to his Master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his Duty to him, which most good Men believed to be the Source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any Man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked through *Westminster-Hall*, saluting such of his Friends and Acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr. *Morley*; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence; but, at the foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers stopping the Dr. his Lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by that rude People after his death; the Chaplains who attended the

The Lord
Capel

B O O K
XI.

two other Lords, being Men of the time, and the Dr. being well known to be most contrary.

As soon as his Lordship had ascended the *Scaffold*, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, “whether the other Lords had spoken to the People with their Hats on?” and being told “that they were bare;” he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice, he said, “that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born, and bred under the Government of a King whom he was bound in Conscience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a Church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his Faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the Laws of the Land; to which Sentence he did submit.”

He enlarged himself in commending “the great Virtue and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a Prince; and prayed to God, to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to them the present King; who, he told them, was their true and their Lawful Sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the honor to have been some years near his Person, and therefore he could not but know him well;” and assured them, “that he was a Prince of great understanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an entire Lover of Justice, and of exemplary Piety: that he was not to be shaken in his Religion; and had all those Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy:”

and therefore advised them "to submit to his Government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their Posterity, and the Protestant Religion."

And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian Courage, to the fatal stroke, which deprived the Nation of the noblest Champion it had.

He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not wish better accomplished; whom *Cromwell's* own Character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and revered, though few followed his Example. He had always lived in a State of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by descent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Issue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: so that no Man was more happy in all his Domestic Affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the King's Honor was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than those which his own Honor and Conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his Person and his Fortune from the beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and

B O O K
XI.

The Lord
Capel's
Character.

B O O K
XI.

Enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first Summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the *English* Nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is laid in the Balance with and compared to that of the Lord *Capel*.

The Conclusion and Character of the year 1648.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of Reproach and Infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest Villany and most bloody Treasons, that any Nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the Memory of all the Transactions ought to be rased out of all Records, lest, by the success of it, Atheism, Infidelity, and Rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which We may say, as the Historian said of the time of *Domitian*, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute*; or, as the same Writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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